National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment....Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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Selections.

REPORT IN THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE ON THE SIMS' CASE.

In Senate, April 22, 1851.

The Committee to whom was referred an Order to inquire whether the freedom of any of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth is endangered through the remissness of any officers thereof, or if any officer has refused or neglected to serve any process for the arrest of any person charged as a criminal; with power to send for persons and papers. And also to inquire if any law for the security of personal liberty has recently been violated by officers of the city of Boston, or by officers of this Commonwealth, pretending to act under the orders of officers of said city, with power to send for persons and papers, ask leave to

REPORT:

That after a careful investigation of numerous witnesses, the minutes of whose testimony is annexed, we have ascertained the recent existence of a state of facts in the city of Boston, in which the municipal authorities, and the police force were involved, hostile to the laws and judicial processes of this Commonwealth.

As these proceedings grew out of the recently enacted fugitive slave law, it will be necessary for the more perfect comprehension of the subject, first, to take a brief retrospective view of the sentiments, and of the legislation of Massachusetts, with reference to that clause of the Constitution of the United States, which provides for the delivery up of persons held to service or labor, in one State, UNDER THE LAWS THEREOF, escaping into another, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due. Though the word slave is not used in this clause, and though sufficient subject matter for its operation might be found in the case of minors, apprentices and others bound by contract for a term of years, yet as fugitive slaves have been usually understood to be included under it, this provision has always been a matter of great regret, and an occasion of serious, conscientious scruples to a large portion of the good people of Massachusetts. It was early held by our Supreme Judicial Court, that the declaration in our bill of rights, "that ALL MEN are born free and equal and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness," was incompatible with the existence of Slavery. Whence it would seem, that the clause of the Constitution of the United States referred to, required an act inconsistent with those inalienable rights of man, upon which not only our State Constitution was founded, but which, in the declaration of independence, had been set up as justifying the separation from Great Britain, and a civil war to support it, and as the fundamental principle, by virtue of which sprung into existence the new born confederated nation of the United States of America. It was no doubt in consequence of this dilemma and of these scruples, that the people of Massachusetts eagerly availed themselves of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, made in the year 1842, to pass the Act of March 24th, 1843, "further to protect personal liberty." It had been decided in the Prigg case, that the clause in the Constitution of the United States, respecting fugitives from labor, imposed no active duty whatever upon the States. They were not only required to abstain from framing laws to discharge the fugitive from the obligation of service, that they were not required to interfere in any way with the process of delivery, that being exclusively within the scope of the federal authority, that the States had a right to prohibit all officers from being engaged in the arrest and delivery up of fugitive slaves. In conformity with this decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, it was provided by the 2d section in the act of 1843 "that no sheriff, coroner, constable, jailor, or other officer of this Commonwealth, shall hereafter arrest, or detain, or assist in arresting or detaining, or aid in the arrest or detention, or imprisonment in any jail, or other building belonging to this Commonwealth, or to any county, city or town thereof, of any person, for the reason that he is claimed as a fugitive slave." The above is still the law of this Commonwealth, unrepealed, and never pronounced to be unconstitutional, and ought to be binding on the constituted authorities. Yet it fully appeared in evidence, that this law has been of late disregarded in the city of Boston, in a manner amounting in substance to an armed resistance to the execution of the laws of the State. It appeared that on the occasion of the arrest of Shadrach in February last, claimed as a fugitive slave, certain constables of the city of Boston, assisted in detaining him in the court house belonging to the city of Boston, or to the county of Suffolk. It also appears, that on the 4th day of the present month, a warrant was issued by George T. Curtis, Commissioner of the United States Circuit Court, for the apprehension of Thomas Sims, claimed as a fugitive slave, and the United States Marshal, instead of serving this warrant, by himself, or by other subordinate officers of the United States, or by such private persons as he might be able to hire, or who might volunteer for this service, obtained the aid of the Marshal of the city of Boston, who appointed two of his subordinate officers, who made the arrest of said Sims. There were no United States officers present and aiding in the arrest, but it was made by the city officers alone, in order, as Mr. Tukey testified, to prevent riot and bloodshed, which he was convinced would have occurred, if the arrest had not been made by his men. Yet it did not appear that any arrest could have been made, or that any riot or bloodshed could have followed, if the city authorities had not interfered. There is reason to believe that this arrest was made under the pretence of a criminal charge, that Sims had stolen a watch. But this did not fully appear in testimony, as the person who made the arrest refused to appear before the committee. Sims was then handed over to the United States authorities, and confined in the court house of Suffolk County, which was converted into a jail for that purpose. Heavy chains were drawn entirely around the court house, some three or four feet from the ground. The city police, amounting to sixty men, were constantly employed in guarding the court house, and detaining the alleged fugitive slave. A regiment of militia was called out and armed. The courts in this country were no longer open courts for suitors and others to enter at their pleasure, according to their long established rights. None were permitted to enter without questions and explanations, and none were allowed to go in, but members of the bar, persons having business in the courts, or gentlemen from the South, without a permit from the United States marshal. The Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, and Police Court were obliged to bow down and pass under these chains, to perform their high judicial functions.

It appeared in evidence that while Sims was held a prisoner in the Suffolk court house as a fugitive slave, and while that matter was in process of investigation before the United States commissioner, a writ of personal replevin issued in his behalf, which was put into the hands of the deputy sheriff for service, and bonds of $3000 having been duly executed, the deputy sheriff repeatedly demanded Sims of the United States marshal, to be replevied, but was refused, with threats to use force to resist the service of the writ, he having at his command the whole police force of the city.

Your committee are perfectly aware of the peculiar character of the government, or rather the governments under which we live. We are in fact the subject of two governments, each operating in its own sphere independently of the other. Yet the officers of each government, being citizens and subjects of both, but subject for official acts only to one, should if possible discharge their several functions in such a manner as not to bring the powers and duties of each into collision. And where the processes of each government seems likely to clash, a compromise should be made, if it can be, without a sacrifice of the rights of either. If the writ of personal replevin had been suffered to be served, the bond was sufficient to preserve the pecuniary rights of all persons, and by a peaceful decision of the courts, the alleged fugitive would have been restored to the marshal, or at least the bond would have been forfeited. The writ of personal replevin was enacted for the express purpose of covering a case of this kind, and was intended to prevent a collision of the powers of our two governments, on this subject. The marshal, having it in his power to bring the question of his better right to hold the man, notwithstanding the writ of replevin, to a judicial decision, seems to have been ill-advised, in opposing the service of this writ, and thus endangering an armed collision between himself and the sheriff. Had the decision been against him in the State Court, he might have carried the question to the Supreme Court of the United States; so that neither he nor the claimant was in danger of suffering any wrong or loss, while a precedent would have been established for future cases. But mortification, and a desire to atone for the loss of Shadrach, seems to have outweighed all consideration for state rights and state legislation.

It appeared further in evidence, that a criminal warrant duly issued by a justice of the peace, on a complaint duly sworn to, charging said Sims with an assault with intent to kill, was subsequently placed in the hand of Deputy Sheriff Coburn, for service. In answer to the demand of the officer on this criminal process, the United States Marshal set up, not only the fugitive slave process, but also a criminal warrant for obstructing the service of the United States process, which he received almost simultaneously with the first attempt to serve the criminal process of the State.

This criminal warrant of the United States, remained in the hands of the marshal from the 7th to the 11th instant, without having been returned or otherwise disposed of, the marshal declaring, that even if the United States criminal process were out of the way, he should still hold the said Sims under the fugitive slave process, against the criminal warrant of the State. Accordingly, on the morning of 11th instant, without returning the criminal warrant of the United States, or bringing the prisoner before any magistrate for examination, he proceeded to remove the said Sims, under the guard of an armed body of the Boston police, out of the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth.

That the United States criminal warrant, in the hands of the marshal, would have justified his holding Sims against the criminal warrant of the State, for such reasonable time as might, under the circumstances of the case, have been necessary for carrying him before some United States authority, that he might be discharged, bailed or committed, we do not doubt. But to use a criminal process of the United States as a cover to enable the claimant of a fugitive slave to carry him out of the Commonwealth, while charged with crime against the laws thereof, would be a gross contempt of State sovereignty.

That such use has been made of the United States criminal warrant against Sims, is too palpable to be denied. Indeed, the commissioner who issued it, seemed to justify, in his examination before the committee, such use thereof, as an offset to what he chose to term the sham process of the State. His whole examination evinced an utter contempt for the Legislature, constitution and laws of the State. Beyond the control of the State, and under the higher law of Congress, he condescended to give advice and administer rebuke, while the information desired was withheld, or reluctantly yielded amid a multitude of verbose, declamatory and insulting remarks.

The criminal process of the State was in due form under oath, and was issued against a person who confessed that he had committed a high crime against the laws of the State. The efforts made to serve it prove that it was issued in good faith. Indeed, there is no way by which the criminal warrants of the State can be used for unlawful purposes. They must be served, returned and finally disposed of by judicial authority.

There can be no doubt that a State criminal process against a fugitive from labor overrides the claim and title of the master. We are confirmed in this by the opinion of the attorney general of the Commonwealth hereto annexed. But if the United States Marshal had any doubts in relation to this, he might at once have obtained a judicial decision upon it, by allowing Sims to be arrested on the State process, and then suing out a writ of habeas corpus from the United States Court to test the question. But instead of this, at the risk of collision with the authorities of the State, he prevented the service of its criminal process by threats of force, having at his control the whole police force of the city, armed with swords and staves, with a regiment of militia called out by the mayor of the city of Boston in readiness to assist him.

It would have been impossible for the United States Marshal thus successfully, to have resisted the law of the State, without the assistance of the municipal authorities of Boston, and the countenance and support of a numerous, wealthy, and powerful body of the citizens. It is in evidence that fifteen hundred of the most wealthy and respectable citizens, merchants, bankers, and others volunteered their services to aid the Marshal on this occasion. A proper reverence for the laws of the State is as imperative as that of the Union. Both should be observed. But the criminal law of the State which is a higher law than the Fugitive Slave Law, should not be contemned and defeated by the wise and the wealthy. The precedent is bad. It is to the laws of the State and not of the Union, that we must look for the protection of life, liberty, and property.—The great doctrine of State rights, in the zeal to enforce this Fugitive Slave Law, should not be disregarded. It is the central power that has the control of the army and navy, and of a boundless revenue, holding "the purse and the sword," of which the people should be constantly watchful. It should be held to the strictest construction of the Constitution. All its legislation should be examined, investigated, and agitated; and if found to be unconstitutional, or wrong, should be opposed and repealed, or else the early fears of the Democratic party of encroachment and consolidation will be realised. Indeed the two extremes of nullification and consolidation should both be guarded against. But there appears to be sufficient power in the general government to prevent the one, while the people alone have the power to prevent the other. We have observed that the people of the Southern States are sufficiently awake upon this subject, and no latitudinal construction of the United States Constitution, or even some of its provisions are permitted to interfere with their notions of State rights. Our citizens of one complexion are not permitted to travel or reside among them, without liability to imprisonment and Slavery, notwithstanding the provision of the United States Constitution, which guaranties to the citizens of each state all the privileges of citizens in every state. Very recently, a vessel under the command of officers of the navy, and claiming to be a national ship, entered the port of New Orleans, the negroes were ordered to be taken out and imprisoned. But the commander demurred, on account of the national character of the ship. And the city authorities obtained the opinion of the district attorney of the state, who advised that, as the law was unrepealed, and not pronounced unconstitutional by judicial authority, it ought to be enforced. We can see no objection to the correctness of this opinion, but believe that all the laws of the state not declared unconstitutional, ought to be executed by the authorities and people of the state. And whenever the powers of the two governments appear to be coming in conflict with each other, especially amidst excitement and popular effervescence, resort should always be had, if possible, to peaceful judicial decisions, to determine the right, and afford time for the subsidence of popular commotion. There may be cases of invasion or civil war when a course of this kind ought not to be followed. But certainly it should be in a case of a fugitive slave, charged with crime. It need not appear as it did in this case, by his confession, that he is guilty. All men are presumed to be innocent until proved to be guilty. And the attempt to justify the officers of the United States in resisting the service of the criminal process of the state, by calling it a sham, is only adding insult to the violation of state rights. No matter what may have been the motive of the person making the complaint, or of the magistrate issuing the warrant, even if it were as asserted by Mr. Hallet, "for the philanthropic purpose of sending a man to prison, instead of into slavery," still it is not to be taken for granted that the proceedings are wrong, and may be evaded or resisted, until after the arbitrament of judicial power.

The committee were careful to examine the witnesses in the most kind, courteous, and conciliatory manner, never insisting upon the answer of a question, which the witness himself deemed to be improper. And although a few questions were refused to be answered, yet with the exception of the city marshal, and Commissioner Hallett, all the witnesses were respectful and courteous.

The committee cannot see that any blame can be rightfully charged upon the sheriff and his deputies, while acting under the advice of the district attorney and the attorney general, who were required by the Governor to give advice on the subject. And yet, it seems that when the United States Marshal was in the act of taking Sims out of our jurisdiction, that a resolute attempt to serve the criminal process of the state would then have been successful. The assumed criminal proceedings of the United States could then no longer be held up as a shield for the Marshal. He must have been better advised, than to have dared to oppose, by force, the fugitive slave process against the criminal warrant of the state. In this respect there appears to have been some delinquency. No watch was kept upon the doings of the Marshal, and while the state officers slept, after the moon had gone down, in the darkest hour before day break, the accused was taken out of our jurisdiction by the armed police of the city of Boston. It appears that another criminal process was duly issued against Sims, while on board the brig Acorn, at anchor in the harbor of Boston, which the sheriff refused to take or serve. When the criminal process of the United States was out of the way, as it must have been, before Sims left Boston, it then became the duty of the sheriff to serve the criminal warrants of the state, at all hazards, and if necessary, with an armed posse to aid him. And such is the written opinion of the Attorney General. He says:

"In a case in which it was the *clear legal right*, and the *corresponding official duty*, of a civil officer of the Commonwealth to execute a precept by force and for this purpose to summon, if need be, an armed *posse* to his aid, against an opposing force directed by an officer acting under the authority of the Federal Government, but one course would be open to him, however lamentable and disastrous the consequences of such a resort to violence might be."

And he afterwards adds, "It cannot be maintained, and would not, I think, be pretended, that if the party was held in custody by the United States marshal upon a merely civil process, charging him with being a fugitive from labor and service under the act of Congress of 1850, he could thereby be protected from a criminal process issued by competent authority, and be removed out of the State, without answering to the charge of having committed an offence against the laws of the Commonwealth."

Should the sheriff under such circumstances call out the *posse comitatus*, and should blood flow in consequence, that blood would be unquestionably, upon the head of the marshal, who had chosen to bring the issue to this arbitrament, by omitting to refer the question of the better right, in the way we have before shown to the decision of the State or United States court.

The attorney general in his written opinion to the sheriff has the following remarks:—

"Whether if your efforts to effect a peaceable service of the warrant under these circumstances should be repelled by the marshal, you should resort to force in the first instance, or make a return of the facts upon the warrant, with the view to the issuing of a writ of habeas corpus by the court to which the warrant is returnable, is a question of grave importance; and the suggestions of Mr. Parker upon this point are entitled to great consideration. I am not prepared to say that you would not be justified in adopting either alternative—though, to avoid a collision by force between the authorities of the State and those of the United States, I should certainly, with my present views, advise a resort to the latter."

The committee cannot see the object of this advice since it is evident that the police court, to which the warrant was returnable, has no power to issue a writ of habeas corpus to take a prisoner out of the hands of the United States marshal. It appears, however, from the testimony of sheriff Coburn, that subsequently the attorney general advised him orally to return the warrant forthwith into the police court while Sims was still held under the United States criminal process and it was only by the accident that Mr. Coburn was summoned before Judge Woodbury, and was detained there till the police court had adjourned, that he was prevented from making this return. Whatever was the object of this advice, it is evident, that the effect of it would have been to settle the whole question, by quietly and voluntarily yielding the right of the State to take this alleged fugitive slave out of the hands of the marshal on a criminal charge.

The examination took place in a time of great excitement, yet the committee endeavored to keep cool, and candidly and impartially hear and decide upon the facts and testimony which were laid before us. We were impressed in the course of the examination of the city marshal, that the power to call out, and command an armed militia, should be strictly guarded. Amidst the excitement of large popular meetings, indiscreet remarks are sometimes taken for threats of force and violence. The militia may then be called out, and party feeling and personal hatred may lead to tumult and bloodshed, when if the power of the militia had not shown, the excitement, anger, and effervescence would have innocently subsided. Our legislation, until recently, confided the power of calling out the militia first to the commander in chief, who is the governor; in his absence to a court of record; in want of such court, to justice of the peace, &c. But recently, since we have had mayors of cities, we have made a law allowing the Mayor of any city to call out the militia at his discretion, independent of the higher power of the commander-in-chief. Now it would seem proper that so great a power as that which can command the shooting down the people in the streets, should, if possible, issue from the highest and most responsible source, and while the governor is in the city, the Mayor should have no power to call out the militia. The Committee therefore report the following Bill.

And as it appears that the laws of the Commonwealth have been openly disobeyed by a large number of persons holding office under the laws thereof, your Committee deem it important, by further and precise legislation, to endeavor to prevent the recurrence of such disobedience, and we therefore report the following Bill.

All which is respectfully submitted, by

FREDERICK ROBINSON, Chairman.

From The Independent.

SPEECH OF HENRY WARD BEECHER

BEFORE THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN A. S. SOCIETY,

New York, May 6th, 1851.

I do not forget, on appearing before you, my friends, the profession to which I belong. I bear in my mind that I am a minister of Christ, and if I do not misapprehend the complexion of this audience, the far greater number of them are religious persons; most of you are either Christians or at any rate educated in Christianity, and hence I judge that *the moral* aspect of the Slavery question will be the most interesting to you. I shall not consider the subject from the commercial stand-point, neither shall I take the political stand-point, nor the philanthropic, but as a *Christian*, in its relations to Christianity shall I regard it—as a man who believes in God, in the immortality of the soul, in the rational and accountable nature of every human being that lives; as a preacher of the gospel, preaching God manifest in the flesh, do I feel deeply interested in this massive, this gigantic evil. I think that if each one of you should be asked whether he thinks Slavery to be an evil, every one would answer, yes. There would not be a dissenting voice. Whoever will look it through and through from core to skin and back to core again, it in his senses, will declare it to be an evil, solitary, gaunt, hideous, with which we can have no sympathy as men, no sympathy as republicans, no sympathy as philanthropists, no sympathy as Christians. How, such as it is, it has taken root, how it has gained room, how it has cast out liberty, this is the wonder. Against humanity, as indeed it is, against nature, against the spirit of our history, against the breath of religion, against the Constitution, against the providence of God—in truth the world never beheld such an anomaly!

And it is interesting to know how and in what way it has lived and thrived, how it has advanced upon us like the sea breaking down dykes and sweeping inward on the land. In every man there is an essential love of irresponsible power. It is the same under all governments, and in every age; for Governments and institutions do not make men despotic. *All* men love irresponsible power. Every man has a king's heart beating under his ribs, yes, a pope's heart beating under his ribs—I have, you have. The feeling is, *I* will be master and *you* shall be servant; and when a man gets hold of this power he *holds on* to it. This is the way monarchies are sustained and despotisms. The power is held, and strengthened, and accumulated till it becomes irresistible; and after men become owners of slaves they feel like holding on to them—they like the power; and although Slavery came upon us in our Colonial days against our wishes, yet, once tasted, it is not strange that the power became sweet, and men desired to retain it, and this is the reason, I take it, that American Slavery has come to be as strong as it is. But there were other causes for this. There was a time at the formation of the Constitution when Slavery began to relax its hold, and when it was thought that like the late snows in April it would soon melt away; else there would have been no such compromises of the Constitution as there were. But then came a time when commercial profits became connected with Slavery; the cultivation of rice, and cotton and sugar became profitable; and then Slavery became rejuvenated; and although Christianity can do much to control commerce and temper commerce, and does do much, yet where the gains are *large*, there is no power which can restrain it throughout the *whole* community. Yet money is not the root of all evil. Ah, no! not money, God forbid! for what could we do without it? But the *love* of money, *that* is the root, and not any ordinary love either. I like money; and we all may and ought to like it; but that intense, burning, soul-absorbing love, that love which leads men to bow down to it and worship it, such love as is due only to a brother, or a sister, or a mother, or a wife, such love as is due only to God, that is the love men give to money. This spirit tends to increase, and thus far Christianity has not succeeded in taking it away. It was Lord Brougham, I think, who said that where the slave trade was so profitable as to pay 300 per cent, not all the navies of the globe could stop it; and when Slavery began to pay enormous profits, not all the power of Christianity could stop it, especially when *ministers* of the Gospel were found to step in and baptize it and call it Christian. (Cheers.)

Not only was commerce concerned in the augmentation of Slavery, but to-day commerce, both in the South and in the North, is the bulwark of Slavery; but for it no power on earth could save it; but the love of money blinds the eyes and stops the ears, and hardens the heart to all persuasions of truth and justice. At the time of the formation of the Constitution, Slavery had not come to be so profitable, and the Christian feeling, North and South made headway against it.

And now we come to another reason of the continuance of Slavery, which is to be found in the development of a political element of power, whose seeds were sown in the constitution without any foresight of what the fruit would be. For, to a great extent, the framing of laws, and the making of constitutions is *experimental*. You cannot tell beforehand how a law will work. The Constitution was built in one sense as men build a steamship—they build it as perfect as possible—after the best model, and yet they cannot tell certainly when it is on the stocks how it will sail. One ship from which the best was expected lags behind, and another outstrips all competitors. And so the framers of the Constitution could not tell how it would work till it was *tried*—they built it after the best model—but some provisions have turned out a great deal *better* than was expected, and some a great deal *worse* than was expected, it is to be hoped! But this one thing is certain, that the Constitution was formed as a *bona-fide* instrument of liberty. Its framers never thought that it would be twisted into an instrument to build up Slavery. I acquit every delegate, whether he came from the North or the South, of any such designs. Not a delegate from the South had the first purpose of establishing Slavery. This just compliment I would pay to the South, and I shall have other compliments to pay them before I am through.

But we are not to forget, in enumerating the unpropitious causes of this monstrous evil, that Christianity has never yet been true to its own spirit.—There is a Christianity of the Bible, and a Christianity of the Church; but the latter does not always express the fullness or spirit of the former. Is the church corrupt? No! it has some faults—ministers have some faults, some err on the side of ultraism, some on the side of conservatism, some get warped this way a little, and some that way a little; but faulty as the church may be, and, and faulty as ministers may be, there could be no greater evil than to have the church swept away from the earth. I love the church, I love its ministers of all denominations; I can take them all by the hand, and take them to my heart; and there is not, as a body, a more faithful, able, pure-hearted, true-minded class of men on the globe than the class of men who are represented by the Christian ministry. (Cheers.)

What then? am I the less true? By no means. Though honor, virtue, philanthropy were against Slavery, they could not conquer it. Yet the church has not done its duty. The gospel works its way as water does. The water trickles down in the first place from the rocks to the ground, and gathers into rills, and feels its way around the stones till at last it is increased into a stream, and a strong, broad, sweeping current; and so Christianity works little, by little, slowly gaining strength, till at last it shall have free course and be glorified. Christianity is like the rising of the sun—the light steals up over the hills and touches the mountain tops, and moves on, parallel by parallel, and latitude by latitude, till it pours over the round globe. Now I say Christianity never *came up* so high as to deal with Slavery as it ought, and as I hope soon it will. (Cheers.) Now what attitude ought Christianity to hold towards the colored population, and this includes the African race North and South. In the first place Christianity is no respecter of persons. Christ in one sense, did not regard either Jew or Gentile, bond or free, rich or poor. But in another sense he did. There is a scale in society extending from the rich and cultivated down to the poor and ignorant. Christ did regard this difference, and he worked at the *bottom* first. What is the spirit of Christianity? Is it not a spirit of love and mercy to the sinful, the helpless? Does it not aim to do the most for those who *need* the most? Christ regarded the *poor*, the most neglected, and despised, and as they really had his regard, so they felt a reciprocal sympathy of hope, and flocked about him to the joy of his heart and to the unspeakable disgust of the religious purist of their day. When the messengers of John came to him to inquire if he was the Messiah, he replied, Tell John that the blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and to the *poor* the gospel is preached.

This last—the *poor* have the gospel preached to them, was the climax, and the great and glorious climax, which was proof irresistible. Christ came to the enslaved, the wandering, the bewildered, those who were out of the fold; he came to the *lost*. And so the duty of the church is to the low, the poor the weak, the oppressed, and its ministers must go down to the despised first, and lift them up, give hope to the oppressed, and standing to the down trodden.—Oh! if God should go on the side of the strong there would be no hope, *no hope* for the poor, and the weak they would be scattered like the dust of the threshing floor!

Now, have we treated the colored population as the spirit of Christ enjoins? Let us first ask the South. We see there 3,000,000 slaves. Their rights as men are taken away—their *manhood* is taken away. This idea I would have you *feel*. I would *burn* it into your souls. The wrong of Slavery is not in muscles and bones—it is not that the slaves are poorly *fed* or well fed, but it is that they are *chattels*. The radical idea of Slavery is that the slave, who is a man, is *not* a man—that he is property, like a piece of furniture, or a brute. Christianity in the South has not effectually protested against a system which deliberately destroys the manhood of men, both in theory and fact; which leaves the mind, purposely, blank and empty of knowledge, which leave the religious nature of the slave a prey to chance; which renders chastity in either sex almost an impossibility, which abolishes the family, continuing no tie of the slave-family sacred, but bringing father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, and child to the blocks with horses, oxen and hogs, to be sold under the hammer, and scattered everywhere that caprice or interest may choose—THIS IS AMERICAN SLAVERY.

There was another system of Slavery four thousand years ago called Hebrew Slavery. Now I will give a challenge to any man who may be present from the South, be he clergyman or layman—and I would say the same in Georgia if I were there, and I believe that I could say it here with less interruption than I can here—or rather I will make a fair compromise, as it is the day of compromises though they are not all *fair*. I will *yield* the point of Bible Slavery, and allow that there is a Slavery presented in the Bible, if you at the South will agree to put *Southern* Slavery on the platform of *Bible* Slavery.

There were three forms of servitude among the Hebrews.

First, there was a servitude into which the Hebrews themselves might come—which can be regarded but as an apprenticeship. It was limited to seven years; it did not take away any political right; nor did it forbid the slave the ownership of property.—He could buy himself if he chose; or his friends had a right, at any time, peremptorily to release him by purchase.

Secondly, there was the public Slavery—that of the Gibeonites, who did service for the commonwealth, very much as our State prison convicts do. Thirdly, there was the Hebrew bond service which was Slavery proper. But Moses did not *enact* this Slavery, he found it, and he regluated it and limited it. All the laws concerning Slavery were for its amelioration.

In the first place, slaves could only be made among the heathen, and

2d, No one could be made a slave from among them until he had been circumcised—in other words, until he had been introduced into the privileges of the church; and

3d, The master was obliged to give them a religious education. Now in our system of education there is first the family, and then the school, and the magazines, and the newspapers. But then there were only five books, called the Pentateuch, and the whole system of education was composed in instruction in these five books; and in these every slave must be educated. If the same regulation was carried out now, it would require the Southern slaveowner to send his slave to the academy, and then put him through some Northern college, and graduate him, before he tied him down to the plow or the hoe of the plantation. (Enthusiastic cheering.) *That* was the Hebrew idea of Slavery. Then again, if any one will enter into a calculation, he will find that the Hebrew slave had about one half of his time to himself. Moreover the Hebrew slave had every motive held out to him to *rise*. He could under circumstances, hold property—he could better his condition, advance, establish himself independently. All the laws of Moses were in favor of the *slave*—for *his* advantage, his benefit his encouragement, his defense. If a slave was wronged or abused, he could go into a court and get speedy and sure redress; and if he was maimed he immediately became free, the injury being the warrant of his liberty. There was, moreover, a standing canon, that when a slave ran away he should not be forcibly returned. The attempt has been made to show that this did not apply to Hebrew slaves, but only to those who fled from among the heathen. But it was not so—*this was not so*. Slavery was so regulated, in fact, that it was expected that a slave would never wish to run away. And if he did run away, that very fact was regarded as evidence that he *ought* to have run away. And I think that the same presumption should be held now, and all the world over.—(Cheers.) Such was the system of Slavery four thousand years ago, among a people who had but just shook off the dust of Egyptian bondage—just dried their garments from the waters of the Red Sea—but no! they did not need to dry their garments—I remember they came through on dry ground—(laughter)—just emerged into the dim twilight of education, blest with only the first few rays of revelation. Four thousand years have passed since that day, and during this time the canon of Scripture has been completed, and the full blaze of Christianity has been poured upon the world, and Christ has come, and there have been contentions, and revolutions, and martyrs for the truth, and education, and with great labor the bulwark of civil liberty has been hewn out and built up, and schools and churches have been established, and of those four thousand years, two thousand have been under the dispensation of the blessed gospel, and now *we* have tried our hand at Slavery. Let us see how we have succeeded. The Hebrews legislated for their slaves as men, but we make them property—chattels. He is not a man but a brute. Four thousand years ago the slave enjoyed the privileges of the church and the temple worship—now we give him no religion. Four thousand years ago the slave enjoyed the rights and privileges of the family state—now the chastity of man and woman is no more regarded than that of a dog. Four thousand years ago the laws were made for the slave—now they are made for the master. Four thousand years ago a slave could seek redress in court—now there is not a court from Mason & Dixon's line through to Texas where a slave can open his mouth as a witness and be believed. Ah! if you will only bring American Slavery on the platform of Hebrew Slavery—if you will give the slave the Bible, and send him to the school, and open the doors of the court to him, then we will let it alone—it will take care of itself. In old times slaves were treated as children of a family—trained, nurtured, educated. Let the Southern slaveholder do like this. Then would Slavery soon cease, for the care and expense would be greater than any one could bear. I have to work hard enough to provide for my three children; but suppose I had five hundred children! what should I do? (Laughter.)

My friends, I have not painted up Slavery in strong colors: I have only given you the outline—I have only done as the painter does before he puts in the colors—with chalk marked out the design.—(Cheers.)

Has Christianity in the South rebuked this system? Where has it? What pulpit does it? Yes, it has in some places; a few pulpits have spoken; Christianity has in some instances, perhaps in many, modified and lessened the evils, but not so, taking the South comprehensively.

Mr. Beecher attempted to proceed, but being interrupted by hisses, he remarked that as he had been heard uninterruptedly for some time, it was fair that the other side should have a chance. The cheers which followed effectually drowned the hisses.

At the South adultery among slaves is not held to be a reason for church discipline. (Hisses.) I am glad to see some sense of shame for this. (Cheers.) The public conscience is being aroused. Do you know that at the South in marrying slaves the minister leaves out the words "What God has joined together let no man put asunder?" It must be left out, for perhaps in a few weeks the husband will be separated from the wife, and sent to another plantation, and then if he chooses he can take another wife, and if he is a member of the church it does not hurt his standing; and then again another and another, till perhaps he may have twenty wives, and still his letter of recommendation from one church to another is as good as ever. (A voice—There are men in New York who have twenty wives.) I am sorry for them. I go in for their immediate emancipation. (Great cheering.) Mr. Beecher resumed. I see that what with my friends' remarks and my own, the time is drawing to a close, and I have got to speak of the treatment of the North towards the colored population, and of the Fugitive Slave Law. (Cheers.)

And now, I do not ask whether Christian Pulpits in the South have not preached orthodox theology—good morality, obedience to their masters, and in general, kindness on the part of the master to his slaves. All this, doubtless. But I ask has Christianity made itself *felt*, has it taken the authority of God, and the full power of Christ, and risen up to assert for the slave the right of manhood, and to rebuke that legal doctrine of unutterable infamy, that a slave is a *Chattel*? Has it asserted for the slave the rights of knowledge? Has it demanded and provided for him a simple religious instruction? Above all, has it asserted for the slave the right and duty of personal virtue, and redeemed women from the promiscuous lust of their masters? Has it brought all the thunders of God's throne to defend the sanctity of the Family State?

Or if it has not, oh what a wretched Christianity is that which permits, or slurs over, the profoundest ignorance, the negation of manhood, the rupture and dispersion of the Family; the violation of chastity and virtue? What is left when personal liberty, civil rights, the privileges of the Family state, and personal morals are all swept away? The *law* declares a slave to be a mere chattel, and the Christianity of the South has not indignantly redeemed him from this blasphemous abuse!

Let no one say that we represent the *abuse* of the system. The system cannot be *abused*. Its very fundamental principle includes every infamy which can insult manhood or degrade a man! To say to three million men, made by God, ye are *not* men, but, like oxen and horses, like dogs and hogs, ye are THINGS, PROPERTY, CHATTELS—why to talk of the *abuse* of a system which has this for its elementary principle, is as wild as it would be to talk of the abuse of robbery, the abuse of murder, the abuse of adultery!

What has the North done for its colored population? Here is a class downcast and downtrodden, among us—the poor, the despised, the weak. It is the duty of the church to go to them, and help them and recover them, and lift them up. How is it? The doors of the schools and colleges are shut against them, and the doors of the trades are shut. A mechanic thinks it a disgrace to work with a slave. The odium of Southern Slavery has extended over the North. Has Christianity come in to aid and protect and save? No. A few States allow colored people to vote, but in most the color of the skin disenfranchizes a man. Has the church said, By the spirit of Christianity, by the power of the Cross, this shall not be so. No, she has said "There's the ship, and there's Africa. You had better go to Africa—*colonize*."

The Church is growing so prosperous and so rich that it is in danger of ruin. It is growing plethoric—like Jeshurun it waxes fat and kicks—there is danger that it will die of obesity, so prosperous has it become, and God has placed a class in our midst upon which to work off the fat, but the church don't want to do the work—they don't want the self-denial and the toil—they don't want just what they need, and so they would turn away the objects of their duty. These remarks are *not* aimed at the Colonization Society. I am for colonization. If any one wishes to go to Africa I would give him the means of going, and for the sake of the continent of Africa, colonization is the true scheme, but if colonization is advocated for *our* sake, I say, get thee behind me Satan, thou savorest not of the things that be of God but those that be of men. Do your duty first to the colored people here, educate them, Christianize them, and *then* colonize them (cheers.)

I have given you the dark side of the picture thus far, but it is gradually growing lighter and lighter. The North is becoming thoroughly aroused. This has been accomplished in a tempestuous way—in an injurious way—I wish that it could have been done in a different and a better way—but I forbear—I will not speak harshly of any who have labored in this great cause of human liberty. But the North are looking at this matter, they wish to know their duty, they are taking the Bible in their hands, and Northern men are more and more rapidly coming to see what their duty is. This is evident from the growing sensitiveness of of the South. The true way is to correct public sentiment at the North first, get it right here, purify and sweeten it here and let it act on the South. Every curative process begins from without and so it must be in this case; and considering the danger my neck would be exposed to at the South, I would prefer on the whole to work at the North. (Laughter.)

The first effect of this at the South was the fear that the system would perish, and hence came, first, the effort to extend slave territory, and then political agitation. And out of this grew that worst of all unbaptized monsters, the Fugitive Slave Law. Some years ago there was a progress at the South toward the removal of Slavery, and it was checked it is said by *agitation*. Agitation? what have we got to work with but agitation? Agitation is *the* thing in these days for any good; not agitation by bayonets, but agitation by brains, agitation by free thoughts and words, agitation of hearts and consciences, and the day is coming when moral truths will be as free as air, breathed in and breathed out by every one.

Our first business then is to limit Slavery within its present bounds; there is nothing in the Constitution against *this* at any rate; then, secondly, to see to it that the South has not factitious help from us in the support of Slavery; and thirdly, not to interfere directly with Slavery where it is. We will all do what the sun does when it comes up over the eastern hills; it looks at a mountain of ice and *melts* it. (Cheers.) If our missionaries want to convert the Arabs, they cannot preach to them when they are on horseback, for they will run away; they must make the Arabs sit down and be fixed in one spot. And so must we do with Slavery; we must hitch her and anchor her, and then begin with brotherly affection to *kill* her. (Repeated cheers.) And then with our hearts warm and kind, and with no hasty or hard remarks, we must preach the Bible to them, and preach till we make Slavery a burden to their consciences and a burden to their pockets, as it is now a burden on God's forbearance! (Cheers.) But then came along agitation it is said—oh! agitation? Who are the agitators? Some say we are, and some say you are. Now I will not remain quiet under this charge of unjust and improper agitation. They are the agitators who fortify and extend an evil which is a poison to liberty; infidel to religion and hateful to God and all good men. They are agitators who attempt to suppress free thought and free speech. There is but one agitation that will dissolve the Union—which I love full as much as do those dry nurses of the Union, the Union Safety Committee—and that is, the attempt to make free speech penal, to bridle the Pulpit, to muzzle the Press, and fetter the tongue! That will blow the Union to atoms. I would have such agitation as Dr. Wayland and Dr. Fuller of North Carolina had, the agitation of free discussion. We shall say what we think and feel; and when we have joined with them in this way we shall have the hip lock and throw them. (Repeated cheering.)

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1851.

New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held, as usual, in Boston, during the anniversary week, commencing on TUESDAY, May 27th, at 10 o'clk, A. M., and continuing in session three days. To it are summoned as many of the free spirits of the times as can possibly find their way to the city, which, degraded and fallen through selfishness, cowardice and inhumanity, greatly needs their presence to shame it into decency, and enable it to stand erect as in 'the times that tried men's souls. The Slave Power is struggling desperately, and every one who claims to belong to the 'sacramental host' of Liberty is expected to be at his post, fully equipped for service.

There will be a strong array of able and eloquent advocates of Freedom on the occasion.

By order of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

EDMUND QUINCY, *Secretary.*

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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THE Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in the City of Syracuse (N. Y.), on Wednesday, May 7, 1851. The Society assembled in the City Hall, at 10 A. M., and was called to order by the President, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts.

In the absence of the Secretaries, Samuel May, Jr., of Massachusetts, and James W. Walker, of Ohio, were appointed Secretaries *pro tem.*

The President read extracts from Scripture, strikingly appropriate to the circumstances of the American people.

Rev. Mr. RAYMOND, of the Baptist Church in Syracuse, offered a very fervent prayer.

The meeting united in singing the hymn written by Maria Weston Chapman—

"The memory of the faithful dead
Be on their children's hearts this day."

The President then stated the cause and circumstances of our assembling in Syracuse at this time.

Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, read the Declaration of Sentiments adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society in December, 1833.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq., of Peterboro', N. Y., welcomed the Society and its members to Central New York, in a speech of the greatest cordiality, and then presented the following resolution, to be acted upon, not by the Society as such, nor by the whole body of persons present, but particularly by those resident in Central New York:

Resolved, That the Abolitionists of Central New York do most heartily welcome the presence among them of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and do most gladly avail themselves of this occasion to express their fullest confidence in the integrity, devotion and usefulness of that Society, and to tender to it their fellowship and co-operation.

Rev. Mr. MAY, of Syracuse, added, on the part of many of the people of Syracuse, a hearty welcome to the City of Syracuse.

The resoulution of Mr. Smith was then put and adopted unanimously and enthusiastically.

GEORGE W. PUTNAM, of Lynn, Massachusetts, recited a Poem, written with reference to the exclusion of the American Anti-Slavery Society from the City of New York.

SAMUEL BROOKE of Ohio, SAMUEL J. MAY and CHARLES A. WHEATON of Syracuse, were appointed a Committee of Finance.

Another hymn was sung, and the Society adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society re-assembled at the City Hall, when the President, on motion, nominated the following persons as a Committee on the Nomination of Officers: Edmund Quincy, of Massachusetts; Thomas Whitson, of Pennsylvania; Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire; Lydia Mott and George Doughty, of New York; and Esther Ann Lukens and Abraham Brooke, of Ohio. And they were chosen.

The following persons were nominated by the Chair, and accepted by the Society, as a Committee of Business: Samuel J. May, George Thompson, Abby Kelley Foster, James Miller McKim, Francis Jackson, James W. Walker, James Mott.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer of the Society, presented his Annual Statement of the Finances of the Society, audited by James S. Gibbons, Auditor of the Society, showing a balance in the treasury of $1630 42.

Voted, To accept the Report.

The hymn of John Pierpont was then sung:

"Quench, righteous God, the thirst
Which Congo's sons has curst."

The Business Committee, by its Chairman, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved that this Society gladly improves the first opportunity which has occurred, since his arrival in this country, officially to express to GEO. THOMPSON, of England, the high gratification it feels at his visit to these shores, after an absence of fifteen years—its profound gratitude for his unwearied, efficient and disinterested efforts to aid in the cause of impartial liberty and universal emancipation during that protracted period, to say nothing of his earlier labors—its exalted appreciation of the incorruptible fidelity and moral heroism, which he has uniformly displayed, on both sides of the Atlantic, in trampling beneath his feet all considerations of his personal safety, pecuniary emolument, worldly, and popular acclaim, in his advocacy of the principles of eternal justice—and its warmest aspirations for the preservation of his invaluable life, and the welfare and happiness of his beloved family. That while this Society feels deeply ashamed in view of the treatment he has publicly received in one or two instances, it is filled with inexpressible pleasure at the enthusiastic reception which has been extended to him from the Atlantic to the Lakes, by crowded assemblies, in cases too numerous to be detailed, as well as at the irresistible effects of his eloquent appeals to the hearts and consciences of the people.

Resolved, That, as the honored representative of the laboring classes of Great Britain in Parliament, and the fearless advocate of all measures of radical reform, George Thompson deserves to be welcomed with open arms on this side of the Atlantic, by all who profess to abhor injustice and tyranny, and that, although events of the highest importance have occurred, to cause the protraction of his stay in this country beyond the period at first fixed for the duration of his visit, this Society cannot but believe that the generous constituency represented by George Thompson, having respect to the influence of his labors in the United States upon the cause of Liberty throughout the world, will justify and approve of his departure from his original purpose, and estimate aright the value of his exertions in behalf of human freedom in this land.

Resolved, That this Society would tender to the true-hearted Abolitionists of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to those who are in the British Possessions on this Continent, their warmest gratitude for their co-operation in the great work of Emancipation—for their generous hospitality to the Fugitive Americans who have found an asylum on their shores—for their continued and liberal benefactions in various forms to the funds of this Society, and for every expression of their sympathy and good will; and would respectfully but earnestly entreat them to adopt such measures as may be calculated to render the assembling of nations, at the World's Fair, an occasion for advancing the cause of the Abolition of Slavery throughout the world.

These resolutions were supported, in able and pithy speeches, by Edmund Quincy, Frederick Douglass, and John C. Cluer, and were then adopted unanimously.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., came forward, and was received with acclamation. He spoke at some length, with great eloquence.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The Society re-assembled at the hour of adjournment, and the meeting was opened by the singing of an Anti-Slavery piece, by four voices.

The following resolution was reported from the Business Committee:

Resolved, That our controversy is with the existence of Slavery itself on the American Soil; that we indulge in no dreams of its limitation, modification, or gradual removal; that nothing is gained, but very much is lost, by attempting to conciliate its demon-spirit by evasion, procrastination, or compromise; that to talk of resisting its aggressions, or holding it in check, while tolerating it as a system, is a most lamentable delusion, that any religious or political alliance with it is sinful and suicidal—"a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell;" and that the only standard under which the friends of freedom can either consistently or successfully rally is that which bears the inscription, "No Union with Slaveholders."

The resolution was discussed by James W. Walker, of Ohio, Henry C. Wright, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison—Edmund Quincy, one of the Vice Presidents, being in the Chair. The discussion was listened to, by a very crowded audience, with the closest attention.

GEORGE THOMPSON, being repeatedly called for, at length came forward, and spoke in a strain of the greatest eloquence for above half an hour.

Adjourned to Thursday, 10 A. M.

THURSDAY.

The Society met again in the City Hall, and was called to order by the President at 10 1-2 o'clock.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Lindon King, of Oswego, and a hymn was sung.

Rev. S. J. MAY called attention to the cases of several fugitive slaves, now in Syracuse; and Rev. Mr. Pinney gave some interesting information about one of these slaves and his family, which was born to him in the North.

J. M. M'KIM gave an account of the case of the alleged slave Euphemia Williams, now obliged to fly from Philadelphia, after a residence of more than twenty years there.

Rev. Mr. RITCHIE, of Otsego, N. Y., spoke of the necessities of the school at Dawn, Canada West. Some discussion arose upon the condition and claims of this school, in which Frederick Douglass, S. J. May, Mr. Newman, of Canada, and others participated.

H. C. WRIGHT objected to the discussion as irrelevant; the business of the Society being solely to act for the overthrow of the whole accursed system, which makes fugitives from American despotism and Slavery possible and necessary.

S. J. MAY moved that a Committee be raised, whose duty it shall be to investigate the claims of the schools in Canada, for the benefit of the colored population, and make a public report thereafter. Abby Kelley Foster moved to amend, by including the several colored schools in Michigan and elsewhere, in the proposed investigation. The amendment was accepted by the author of the original motion, which then was unanimously adopted.

The 4th resolution then was taken up, and was sustained by Parker Pillsbury.

Adjourned to the afternoon.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society re-assembled according to adjournment.

On motion, Voted, To lay other business on the table, and take up the question of the finances of the Society.

ABRAHAM BROOKE, of Ohio, Abby Kelley Foster, of Massachusetts, and Charles S. S. Griffing, of Ohio, were added to the Finance Committee.

The question of pecuniary contributions to the Society was discussed by Abby Kelley Foster, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and John C. Cluer.

Mr. GARRISON read the following letter from a gentleman from New York City, which, on motion of Mr. Pillsbury, it was voted to publish with the proceedings of the meeting:

NEW YORK, May 3d, 1851.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON—*Dear Sir:* While concurring in the wisdom of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in deciding to hold their seventeenth Anniversary at Syracuse the present year, still, as a resident of New York, I feel ashamed that in this great city no place can be found for the uncompromising advocate of Freedom.

Should the slaveholder or his abettor choose to descant on the beauties of Slavery there would be no lack of place or opportunity. Should he even propose to reduce to practice his beautiful system, I doubt not he would have a gracious hearing; but for that system to be assailed with the whole armory of truth and with the earnestness of conviction, is quite another thing.—Well, if this great city remain under the care of the 'Union Safety Committee' on the one hand and Captain Rynders on the other, till their own infamy, if nothing else, shall make them ashamed. I am thankful that she is surrounded by a country to which she cannot give law, even in her own State; and I admire the wisdom of falling back upon the yeomanry of the country in this time of our country's peril, and of bringing foward a power, now lying almost dormant, to act not only against the system of Slavery, but to show to a degenerate people that however false to the spirit of liberty the denizens of a commercial city may be, yet there are millions in the country whose hearts beat true to it.

But my main object in troubling you with this communication is, to propose through, you to the friends of the slave, that, in consideration of the crisis that the Slave Power has brought upon us and the urgent necessity for meeting it manfully, those of us having the ability to do it just double our donations to the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the understanding that they bring into the field the best consecrated talent they can command.

I know it is but little comparatively that we whose time is occupied in business can do, but while our brethren, more favored than we, are pleading the cause of the dumb let us who can show by our works that we appreciate their labors and are willing to strengthen their hands. Though in humble circumstances, yet having ability to labor and favored with small means, in view of the perils with which we are surrounded and the necessity of the most rigorous action, I propose to place at the disposal of the American Anti-Slavery Society during the present year two hundred dollars payable quarterly in fifty dollars each, and if that champion of freedom, George Thompson, will consent to labor for the slave in this country during the present year then I propose to pay one hundred dollars towards furnishing him with a suitable salary for his eminent services, and should he consent to labor but part of a year then to pay in the same proportion.

Yours, truly,

No. 17 *Platt st.* LAUREN WETMORE.

J. M. M'KIM, of Philadelphia, announced the contribution to the Society's treasury of one hundred francs from M. Victor Schœlcher, of Paris, an eminent French gentleman, and representative in the French Chamber of Deputies of the island of Guadaloupe. The Finance Committee subsequently announced that about eight hundred dollars had been raised by contributions and pledges.

Mr. MONTGOMERY, of England, made a few remarks to the Society, admonishing them in their efforts to make others free not to forget to become free themselves, through the Son of God.

W. L. GARRISON replied to the remarks of Mr. Montgomery.

Mrs. M'KIM of Philadelphia, by the urgent request of several friends, sang, in a touching manner, the piece (written by Mrs. Baily of Cincinnati, and founded on fact,) "The Blind Slave Boy."

WILLIAM H. BURLEIGH asked leave to make, thus publicly, a pledge of pecuniary aid to the Society, and wished at the same time to withdraw from that position of opposition to the American Anti-Slavery Society, which he had stood in.

Adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock.

THURSDAY EVENING.

The Society met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts, addressed the meeting in a very clear and cogent speech in support of the doctrine of the 4th Resolution.

The Business Committee reported the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That as for the Fugitive Slave Law, we execrate it, we spit upon it, we trample it under our feet.

Resolved, That they who have slaves to catch, may catch them—if they can; but, God helping us, we will baffle the slave-hunter whenever or wherever he makes his appearance among us, and give succor to the flying fugitive, in defiance of all Presidential proclamations and Governmental penalties.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq., spoke briefly, mainly with reference to Mr. Thompson, and the absurd charges made against him by his enemies.

GEORGE THOMPSON, of England, closed the evening meeting with one of his most powerful and faithful speeches.

After which, the audience united in singing

"Come all, who claim the freeman's name,"—

and an adjournment was had to Friday morning, 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY.

The Society re-assembled in the City Hall, the President in the Chair. The hymn, written by Eliza Lee Follen, was sung,—

"What mean ye, that ye bruise and bind."

The Business Committee reported the following Resolutions.

Resolved, That whatever strength may be given to the slave system by the political arrangements of the country, these are as dust in the balance in comparison with the religious sanctions which are thrown around it by the pulpits, churches, and religious presses of the country; and that, until these sanctions are withdrawn, the cause of emancipation can hope for no speedy or peaceful termination.

Resolved, That the precise value of the current religion of this country—its zeal for God, its concern for the heathen in distant portions of the earth, its rites and ceremonies, its prayers and praises, its conversions and revivals, its Sabbaths and sanctuaries, its appointed feasts and solemn meetings—is seen in the brutal degradation and cruel treatment of three millions of the people, to whom marriage as a sacred relation is not allowed, from whom the Bible and the common means of salvation are withheld, whose toil is under the lash and without compensation, in whose bodies and spirits, as in cattle, swine and cotton, an active commerce is carried on to an enormous extent, and whose chains are as galling and as firmly rivetted on the "Lord's day," as they are on any other day.

Rev. S. J. MAY introduced the subject of the Anti-Slavery journals, and the support which should be rendered to them; he submitted the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That we would urge upon the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the necessity and duty of giving an effectual and increasing support to the Organ of the Society, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, as an able and uncompromising exponent of its principles and essential to the integrity and progress of the Anti-Slavery Movement.

Resolved, That the members and friends of this Society are earnestly requested to subscribe for the *Standard* at this time, if not already subscribers, and that those who are subscribers are urged to use their utmost efforts to extend its circulation in their neighborhoods.

The resolutions were advocated by Edmund Quincy, James Miller M'Kim, and others, and were adopted unanimously.

Mr. M'KIM made a very interesting statement respecting Micajah Williams, claimed as a slave, and recently pardoned out of the Pennsylvania State Prison by the Governor.

Mr. M'KIM also spoke of the work doing in France, in behalf of the overthrow of Slavery in America, by M. Schœlcher, the gentleman already referred to, and who is also the editor of an able journal called "La Semaine," in which Anti-Slavery sentiments are freely promulgated.

The Resolutions on the Churches and the current religion came up for discussion, and were supported by William Goodell, of New York, Thomas Whitson, of Pennsylvania, and Rev. Lyndon King.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on Nomination of officers, made a Report. That Report was accepted, and the following, named therein, elected officers for the current year:

President—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice Presidents—Peter Libbey, Maine; Benjamin Comings, Sumner Lincoln, New Hampshire; Patten Davis, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Massachusetts; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; James B. Whitcomb, Connecticut; Samuel J. May, Thomas McClintock, Giles B. Stebbins, New York; Robert Purvis, Edward M. Davis, Pennsylvania; George Atkinson, New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Thomas Donaldson, William Steadman, Ohio; David Wilson, Indiana; Thomas Chandler, Michigan; John Wichell, Illinois; James A. Shield, Iowa; John B. Pierce, California.

Corresponding Secretary—Sydney Howard Gay.

Recording Secretary—Wendell Phillips.

Treasurer—Francis Jackson.

Managers—Newell A. Foster, Ruth Morrill, Maine; Luther Melendy, Parker Pillsbury, Amos Wood, New Hampshire; William P. Tilden, Patten Davis, Vermont; Andrew Robeson, Amos Farnsworth, James N. Buffum, Bourne Spooner, Charles Lenox Remond, Jefferson Church, Massachusetts; Daniel Mitchell, Elizabeth B. Chace, Rhode Island; George Sharpe, Butler N. Strong, Luther Bartlett, Connecticut; Joseph Post, Laurens Wetmore, Mary Springstead, Isaac Post, Frederick Douglass, New York; Addison Conger, Andrew Evard, Jr., New Jersey; James M. McKim, Elijah Pennypacker, William H. Johnson, John P. Magill, Edwin Fussell, Pennsylvania; David Galbreath, Lydia Irish, Abraham Allen, Ohio; Mary Ann Swain, Clarkson Puckett, Indiana.

Executive Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Maria Weston Chapman, Wendell Phillips, Anne Warren Weston, Sydney Howard Gay, Eliza Lee Follen, James Russell Lowell, Sarah Pugh, Charles F. Hovey, Samuel May, Jr.

On motion of E. Quincy, the Resolutions now before the meeting were laid on the table, and Mr. Quincy offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That while we regard with abhorrence the inhuman purpose of the present Secession Movement in South Carolina, to wit, the greater security of Slavery, we cannot but perceive that its leaders and constituent members are the only public men and the only political body in the country that display a courageous determination to maintain what they esteem to be their rights in the face of tremendous odds, and that while we detest their object, we cannot but admire their spirit.

Resolved, That odious as has been the governing principle of South Carolina, for the last twenty years, we cannot withhold from her the praise justly due to her consistent maintenance of the great cardinal doctrine of the Right of Secession by the single State; a doctrine vital to Liberty, and the only safeguard of the several Sovereignties from the tyranny of a crushing Centralization.

The question was taken, and the Resolutions were adopted.

E. QUINCY also introduced a Resolution which he had unintentionally omitted to introduce before, recommendatory of *The Liberator, Pennsylvania Freeman, Ohio Bugle, and North Star* to the support of Anti-Slavery people.

This Resolution elicited considerable discussion, in the course of which F. Douglass said his views, as to the pro-slavery character of the United States Constitution, had undergone a radical change within a few months.

Mr. QUINCY withdrew the Resolution.

Adjourned to 2 P. M.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

Society called to order, by S. J. May, one of the Vice Presidents.

A resolution was offered, respecting the place of holding future anniversaries of this Society. It was spoken to by Abraham Brooke, and others. Some amendments were suggested, but no action was taken, at this time.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., asked leave to call the Society's attention to a statement he had just seen, in a report of this Society's doings, in *The New York Herald*, that the city government of Syracuse had refused to grant the use of the City Hall, for the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, until two influential citizens of the place had given $10,000 bonds, to make good any damages that might be done to it. The same statement, he had been informed, has also been put forth in the Albany *State Register*, Mr. Fillmore's special organ in New York State. He asked for information on the subject, not however, because he himself gave the least credence to the statement in the *Herald*.

Rev. Mr. MAY, of Syracuse, said the statement in the *N. Y. Herald*, and Albany *Register*, was utterly and grossly false. He gave a brief statement of the circumstances, in no way unusual, of obtaining the hall. The Mayor had manifested a determination to preserve order and maintain the freedom of speech, in the Meeting of this Society in Syracuse.

S. MAY, Jr. wished only to say farther, in reference to this subject, that a reporter for the *N. Y. Herald* has been present in our meeting from the first, and is here now; he has received from this Society and its officers, every courtesy he could desire, as he will not deny; and he [Mr. May] now called upon that reporter to tell us if he was the author of that statement, and if so what his authority for it was.

The Reporter said he was not the author of the statement.

The resolutions before the Society were then taken up and a discussion arose, in which Henry C. Wright, William H. Burleigh, Mr. Pryne, W. L. Garrison, F. Douglass, William Goodell, Thomas Whitson, and others took part.

Adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

FRIDAY EVENING.

The Society met at the time appointed, the President in the chair.

The following persons were nominated by the Chair, and elected a Committee to make the inquiries as to the colored schools in Canada and the United States provided for in a foregoing resolution. Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse; James Miller McKim, of Philadelphia; Isaac T. Hopper, of New York; Frederick Douglass, of Rochester; William Steadman, of Randolph; Ohio, and George Curtis of Utica.

The song "Come, join the Abolitionists," was then sung in full chorus.

The following resolution was offered and adopted:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee of this Society, that its Anniversaries be appointed no longer in any one city or place, but held at those places in any State where, in the judgment of the Committee, the interests and objects of the Society, and the convenience of its members, shall be best subserved; and we also suggest that Ohio may be the most suitable State for the Annual Meeting for the year 1852.

Rev. Mr. MAY, of Syracuse, read the following letter addressed to him by the Secretary of the Canada Anti-Slavery Society; on his motion, it was voted that it be published with the proceedings of this Annual Meeting:

TORONTO, May 5th, 1851.

Rev. and Dear Sir: In consequence of a wish which you expressed, when in Toronto, that the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada should send a delegation to the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at Syracuse, on the 7th instant. It was resolved by the Committee that the same gentlemen who would be appointed to visit the N.Y. Meeting should also visit you. Previous, however, to the receipt of your official letter of 25th ult, urging the attendance of as many of our Society as could, without inconvenience, come to your Meeting, a note was received from New York, rectifying an error into which the Secretary had fallen regarding the date of their Anniversary. This considerably deranged our plans, and, I regret to add, has put it out of the power of the committee to comply with your kind request. Two of the delegates—the Rev. W. Maclure and P. Brown, Esq.,—who had business engagements to attend to on the days of your meeting, had intended to follow Dr. Willis, who proposed to remain at Syracuse until the week of the New York Anniversary. When the change of time from the 13th to the 6th of May was intimated, the original intentions of the delegates were frustrated, and a new, though unsatisfactory, arrangement was determined on; Dr. Willis going on to New York, and leaving it with the Committee to supply the places of the other gentlemen, whose previous engagements precluded them the pleasure of meeting you and your associates at the appointed time. I am sorry to say that we have been unsuccessful in our endeavors to procure substitutes, though, in the expectation of finding such, I have deferred writing till the latest moment. This we regret the more, as it prevents us, as you express it, from so fully knowing what are the intentions, and what the spirit of the Garrison Abolitionists, as some of us could have wished. I may state, however, that as a whole our Committee do not wish to know any party in the United States by its peculiar and distinctive features and creeds. They would rather join all parties as fellow laborers in the great cause of universal freedom from the embruting and demoralizing system of Slavery which has gained such a stronghold in the hearts of so large a portion of the people of the South, and which is shedding such baneful influences throughout the wide extent of the land. The atrocious Fugitive Slave Bill, which we believe to be an audacious violation of the first principles of civil liberty, the common law—the Constitution of the United States and the law of God, should have the effect of healing all differences and drawing closer the bonds, which should ever unite brethren engaged in such a noble—such a sacred warfare. You say that the condition of your country is deplorable. We agree with you. It is surely an unparalleled spectacle which American citizens are at this moment exhibiting to the civilized world. To hear distinguished politicians boasting of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and saying that they can go along with it to the 'fullest extent' *is* deplorable; but how much more *deplorable* is it to hear a professed expounder of the word of God say of such legislators, 'Posterity, divested of partizan feeling and prejudice, will erect to them a lofty monument'! It is lamentable, beyond expression, to witness twenty millions of American freemen, who boast of their numerous Schools, Bible Societies, Missionary Associations, as well as of their sympathy with the oppressed in other lands, turning *men-catchers!* Such a deplorable state of things cannot—will not long remain. Civilized society will not much longer permit such an outrage to be perpetrated upon its established usages. The King of Nations whose righteous laws are being daily insulted, will not allow such wickedness to escape his righteous vengeance.—Meanwhile it is your duty and it is ours—it is the duty of every Christian man and woman to labor and to pray for the downfall of such an infamous system—

'Be ours to shine in Freedom's cause,
As Christians *may*—as freemen *can!*
Still pouring on unwilling ears
That truth oppression only fears.'

Let us continue to sympathize with, and to the utmost of our abilities, seek to relieve its suffering victims.—Let us not faint nor grow weary in our 'labor of love' and in due time 'every yoke shall be broken and the oppressed be set free.'

Wishing you a pleasant and very successful meeting,

I remain, Rev. and Dear Sir,
Respectfully and truly yours,
THOMAS HENNING.

Rev. S. J. MAY, *Syracuse, N. Y.*

The Society was then addressed, in an eloquent speech, by Charles B. Sedwick, Esq., of Syracuse, which was warmly applauded.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions:

Whereas, it is manifest from the recent proposals, enquiries, and debates in the Congress of the United States—from the laws, resolutions, and appropriations of various State Legislatures—from the proceedings of the last Anniversary Meeting of the American Colonization Society—as well as from many other circumstances and indications, that a new, gigantic and national effort is about to be made, to effect the expulsion from these shores of the free colored population, and their transportation to the foreign and pestilential coast of Africa;—and whereas, this nefarious and cruel scheme of wholesale expatriation is based upon the hypocritical, inconsistent, and infidel pleas, that "*Christianity cannot do for them* (the free colored people) *here, what it will do for them in Africa;*" and that the injuries inflicted on Africa, are to be repaired, "*by sending back to their original country a race of men endowed with all the attributes of civilization, Christianity, and the arts;*"—

Resolved, That of all the dwellers upod the Continent of America, not being Aborigines, the colored people have the clearest and most sacred title to a secure and unmolested habitation.

That any proposition not emanating from the colored citizens of these States themselves, to colonize Africa through their expatriation, is an INSULT, a WRONG and an OUTRAGE, and ought to be resented as such by all just and generous persons.

That the spectacle of a nation, welcoming to this country immigrants from all nations and at once admitting them to the rights and advantages of citizenship, while it is devising and carrying into effect a plot for the abduction and banishment of the most deserving and meritorious of its own children, is a spectacle calculated to excite the sickening disgust of the whole civilized world, and should receive the unmitigated execration of every advocate of the principles of justice and the rights of humanity.

That the Colonization Society in its origin, its principles, its objects, its pretences, and its diversified modes of operation, is one of the meanest, most oppressive, and most pro-slavery conspiracies ever formed to accomplish an inhuman and diabolical purpose.

That the doctrines and views avowed and promulgated by the American Colonization Society, are unnatural, profane and blasphemous—at war with the principles of human nature, the facts of universal history, the declarations of Scripture, and the spirit of Jesus Christ, and are a bold and atheistical denial of the goodness, impartiality and power of God.

That the American A. S. Society, called into existence to vindicate the rights of the colored race upon this continent, and to extirpate the foul and infernal system of Slavery—could again record its deliberate condemnation of the American Colonization Society—every fresh development of whose spirit and design, proves it to be the friend and ally of Slavery, and the instrument of a proud, insolent and fiendish prejudice, the legitimate offspring of that system which has made American human beasts of three millions of God's children, created for "glory, honor, immortality, and eternal life."

On the subject of these resolutions, Frederick Douglass spoke with great humor and joke, for some length of time.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., then made a noble speech in their support.

The chairman of the Finance Committee stated that, in addition to the sum collected for the Society, and already acknowledged (upwards of $800), a further sum of about $175, had been collected to defray the expenses of this meeting, viz: for the hall, attendance, advertsing, reporting, &c.

WILLIAM GOODELL made sundry inquiries of Mr. Thompson, to which he replied.

C. B. SEDGWICK, Esq., vindicated his ground that severe language towards the slaveholder is wrong, and reflected upon Mr. Thompson.

W. L. GARRISON defended the expediency, rightfulness, and duty of the plainest language towards the slaveholder.

Mr. THOMPSON maintained his position, and declared that he had not intended the least offence to Mr. Sedgwick.

Rev. Mr Raymond made some general remarks, which were followed by remarks from James Mott, C. A. Wheaton, W. H. Burleigh and S. J. May.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we gratefully acknowledge, and would record our indebtedness to numerous citizens of Syracuse, for the hospitalities to which they have so generously made us welcome; and especially would we render our hearty thanks to the municipal authorities, for the readiness with which they have given us the use of their City Hall, and manifested their determination to maintain order and the freedom of speech in their city; their course, in all these respects, standing in such noble and honorable contrast with the cowardly and tyrannical conduct of the Mayor and government of the City of New York.

The Resolutions before the Society, not acted upon, were taken up and adopted, one by one.

The meeting was closed by the singing of a song, by two of the Misses. Edmondson, who were but lately saved from the terrible fate to which Slavery was on the point of consigning them. They sang most affectingly the song—

"The hounds are baying on my track,
O Christian, will you send me back,

The Doxology "From all who dwell below the skies," was sung, and the Society adjourned, *sine die.*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
JAMES W. WALKER, } Assistant Secretaries.

MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AT SYRACUSE.

(PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY ROBERT BOND.)

THE seventeenth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was commenced on Wednesday last, May 7th, in the City Hall, Syracuse. The anniversaries of this Society, in former years, have been held in New York, but owing to the difficulty, indeed utter impossibility, of getting a suitable place in which the anniversary could be held in the latter city, it was decided to hold this anniversary in the city of Syracuse Notwithstanding the inconveniences that attended the holding of the present anniversary, the attendance was good, and fairly represented the Anti-Slavery feeling of the country. At ten o'clock the convention was called to order, by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., the President of the Society. Immediately around the President, we observed amongst many others, Gerrit Smith, Esq.; George Thompson, Esq., M. P.; Francis Jackson, Mass.; Edmund Quincy, Mass.; Parker Pillsbury, New Hampshire; Samuel J. May, New York; James Mott, Pennsylvania; Thomas Whitson, Penn.; J. Miller McKim, Penn.; James W. Walker, Ohio; Abraham Brooke, Ohio; Henry C. Wright, Ohio; Frederick Douglass, New York; Abby Kelley Foster, Mass.; Lydia Mott, New York; Samuel May, Jr., Mass; George W. Putnam, Mass.

Vocal prayer having been offered by Rev. Mr. Raymond, Syracuse; a hymn was sung by the whole meeting.

The PRESIDENT then rose and said: In the month of December, 1833, the friends of immediate and unconditional emancipation, were summoned to meet in convention at Philadelphia, for the purpose of putting forth to the world a declaration of sentiments against Slavery, and to form an American Anti-Slavery Society. That convention was held. A declaration of sentiments was adopted; and on that declaration as a basis for all future action, a national society was at that time organized. That society is the one whose anniversary we are here to celebrate. For 17 years, through much trial and vicissitude, through sunshine and storm,—very little sunshine and a good deal of storm,—this society has annually met at New York. This year we do not meet in the commercial emporium, but we are here, as you perceive, in Syracuse. (Cheers.) We are not permitted—aye, it has come to this that we are not permitted by a power greater than liberty in this land, greater than the Constitution of the country, and aspiring to be greater than the law of God,—we are not permitted to hold our anniversary in the great city of New York.

Not a meeting-house, not a hall, can be obtained in that city for this purpose. We present ourselves under these circumstances for the first time to the good people in this part of the Empire State. It seems very proper that we should make a clean breast of it at once, and tell you precisely *who* we are, and *what* we are, that you may decide for yourselves whether we are worthy of "bonds" or of "death." I therefore call upon one who has been early in the cause, and who has been most faithful, most untiring, and most uncompromising; one whose name is appended to the declaration to which I have alluded—my worthy friend and coadjutor, Samuel J. May, to read that declaration.

Mr. SAMUEL J. MAY then read the Declaration of the Philadelphia Convention.

Mr. GARRISON then resumed: Such are the sentiments, the purposes, and the measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and from them, I believe, that society has never swerved in the least degree to this hour Why then should not this society be everywhere welcomed; if not in the midst of Slavery at the South, at least all over our free North? Why is it that if slaveholders, and slave-breeders, and slave-drivers must combine against us,—the friends of freedom—professedly such, aye, the Christians of the free States are not one with this Society, and united for the purpose of abolishing Slavery? We utter no new doctrines,—we promulgate no new truths. There is nothing radical, nothing ultra, nothing fanatical in all that we aim at more than can be found in the declaration of American Independence, and in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And yet, as I remarked, at the outset, this society is not allowed to hold its regular anniversary in the great city of New York; a city with half a million of people;—a city swarming with churches built and dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, and to the honor of his Son, our common Saviour and Redeemer; a city supplied with magnificent halls, and yet not one among all of them, can be obtained for any amount of money, or on any other consideration, because the spirit of Slavery has entire mastery over the city: because the mob spirit rules the city of New York; because they who are willing to allow this society to hold its meetings there, are overawed in the presence of that brutality which pervades that great city. It is not enough, it seems, for the slave power in the slave States to say to every man, "whoever undertakes to impeach me, or to say ought against me, shall die." You know that that is the case in the slave States. There are brave men and women too I know all over the free States; but is there the man or woman brave enough to go to the Carolinas, and there stand up and protest against Slavery in the name of humanity, and to recognize the slave as a brother man, and to arraign the slaveholder as a man stealer? I will not impeach the bravery of those who are here, or elsewhere, but I mean to say that whoever should do this, be it man or woman, that person would perish in the attempt. In all that vast extent of country there is no such thing as a *free* conscience, a *free* mind, a *free* speech. There are thousands of pulpits in the slave States, heterodox, and orthodox of all forms in religion, and yet there is not a single man filling any of those pulpits, who dares openly to remember those in bonds as bound with them. There are multitudes of churches in all the slave States naming the name of Christ, and yet among all these churches is there one that dares boldly and uncompromisingly to grapple with Slavery on the spot? If it should make the attempt, would it not perish? Such is our condition in the year 1851, as pertains to the Southern portion of the country, and to those associated with and interested in the slave power at the North. We here at the North are no longer to have any thought, any opinion, any freedom of speech, or the right peaceably to assemble together to discuss the great cause of liberty—at least it seems not in the great city of New York. We are no longer to be tolerated. We are asked what have we at the North to do with Slavery? In reply I will reverse the interrogatory and ask, "What has Slavery to do with us at the North?" We have at least the freedom of talking about liberty. If in the slave States we may not speak against Slavery, may we not among our own free institutions, lift our voices in favor of our free institutions and against Slavery. What has Slavery to do with us? Instead of this, we should, I think, be asked, "what have we not to do with Slavery?" The present week is the great anniversary week in the city of New York, at which all our great religious bodies come as unto Jerusalem in days of old, to talk about "what God has done for them," and to renew their pledges upon the altar of Christianity, that they will be bold for God, and glory in the cross and despise the shame. They are this day talking about those in heathen lands who have not the Gospel of Christ, who are deprived of the word of God, who are perishing by millions, and they claim to pity those lost and ruined ones, and to be willing to do anything for their salvation. Why is it that those religious gatherings are tolerated in the city of New York, if the American Anti-Slavery Society cannot be tolerated. If they are doing the work of the Lord, which is a work of freedom, and if they do not compromise with oppression, how is it that they may meet securely and safely and popularly. All doors are open to them, and no one molests or makes them afraid. They are willing to be Christians only so far as it shall cost them nothing. They are willing to be Christians so far as it is fashionable. They are willing to make sacrifices in the cause of God only so far as they will not be called upon to part with anything. They are concerned for the heathen. Their professions are hollow and hypocritical; for if they do not think of the heathen within their own doors, under their own laws, who are deprived of all light and knowledge, if they will shake hands with those who make the heathen in the land, then I say that they only pretend to pity those afar off. It is an evidence of hollowness and of hypocrisy that calls for the rebuke of the Christian World. Ours has been stigmatised as an infidel movement. How infidel it is you have just had an opportunity of judging by the declaration of sentiments which has been read. We are infidel undoubtedly as an association; We are infidel to the devil,—infidel to Slavery,—infidel to that power which is turning the rational creatures of God into mere merchandise; but we are loyal to God,—loyal to Liberty,—loyal to the rights of man, and we mean to live and die so, God helping us. (Loud cheers.)

In the true sense of the words, no movement, in my judgment, in the world is so deeply religious, at the present time, as the Anti-Slavery movement. True it is branded as disorganizing, as fanatical, as infidel; so was it with primitive Christianity, so with every large and radical reform; in every age of the world, they have been branded with such opprobious names. Jesus

and his Apostles were not infidels in an evil sense; nor were the noble army of martyrs and confessors, nor the Puritans, nor were Luther and his associates infidels, although branded as such. So making ourselves one with them, we boldly say *we are not infidels*. Our cause is the cause which they advocated, and we claim to be animated, to some extent at least, by the spirit for which they were so nobly characterized. To this cause we have not summoned the vile, excepting they have come to hoot and mob us. The vile have no sympathy with us. We are yet thought so dangerous a body of men that we are to be mobbed by ruffians such as Rynders and his crew in New York. The New York *Observer* has no affinity with *The Liberator* and its Anti-Slavery sentiments. This cause has no companionship with Bennett's New York *Herald*.

No movement in this country is so patriotic as ours; indeed, any movement which ignores the cause of those in bonds must be unpatriotic, for Slavery is jeopardizing the very existence of our country (cheers). Every hour renders it all the more difficult to solve the problem whether its salvation be possible. The deadliest enemies of the country cannot wish to put down agitation against Slavery; the worst enemies of slaveholders will cry let them alone, let them manage their slave system as they choose.

We are patriotic in the broadest and best sense of the word. We do love the land of our nativity. We love the slaveholders, as we love the slaves. We have no controversy with any man, as a *man*, any further in this struggle than he has been guilty of injustice to the slave. The Abolitionists are not animated by ill will towards those who have enslaved their fellow men. God forbid! We have been buffetted and are willing to be spit upon, denounced, ostracized. We have suffered, some have laid down their lives as Christ laid down his, that cruel men may be brought to repentance. Because we wish to save and bless them, we take the position we have assumed. *They* misunderstand and hate us, and endeavor to destroy us. We wish to give them blessing for cursing, and do all we can to save them from the elements of destruction so fearfully combined in their atrocious slave system.

We disorganizers? How are we? *We* dangerous members of society? The noble friend who sits here (Gerrit Smith) a *dangerous member of the community!* (Applause.) The dear brother who sits here, Samuel J. May, a *dangerous man!* (Applause.) They say that it is hardly safe to trust him abroad! And so I might go on to the end of the category. We see how ridiculous such a charge is. Why, the Abolitionists are the only law-abiding people in this country—the only orderly people in this country (applause). We do not get up mobs; it is *they* who say that *we* are disorderly that get up mobs. We do not say men shall not be heard because they differ from us; we say let them all be heard, *all the more because they differ from us* (cheers). On the Anti-Slavery platform we would ever welcome the slaveholder, and the slave breeder, as well as the Abolitionist and the friend of the slave We gag nobody; we say, let truth and error meet; whoever knew truth to be worsted in the encounter (hear, hear). We are for free speech for *all;* and we are determined, as far as lies in our power, that if the slaveholder should come amongst us, he shall be permitted to speak and plead his own cause.

Henry Clay, because, a short time since, in Boston, a person arrested as a fugitive slave was released from the grasp of the kidnapper and removed to Canada, in his place in the U. S. Senate, denounced the proceeding and spoke of the vast importance of the preservation of our Union, that the laws of the land must be strictly obeyed and enforced; and yet, in that very speech, affecting to reproach us with a violation of the laws, he could express his satisfaction at the mobbing of our noble friend (pointing to George Thompson). Lewis Cass, on that very same occasion, after saying that the violation of the laws of our land was amongst the things most to be reproached in this world, even *he* could express immense satisfaction that our friend was not permitted to open his lips by a lawless mob in Springfield At our last Annual Meeting in New York, we had the mob howling around us for the space of three days, so that nothing could be heard excepting their satanic voices (hear, hear). Sometimes they would give 'three cheers for Daniel Webster, who goes for *law and order*' (cheers). We had a famous row in Faneuil Hall not long since, for three whole hours—an hour longer than that at Ephisus (laughter); we were prevented from speaking by the friends of 'decency, law and order.' They were horrified at the idea of any dissatisfaction against the Fugitive Slave Bill, and so they raised wild and senseless outcries, and now and then gave three cheers for Daniel Webster, and for those 'who are the friends of law and order.'

Christ and his Apostles were, in their times, pronounced 'pestilent and seditious fellows.' Aye! 'seditious fellows,' 'going about turning the world upside down.' Were they 'pestilent and seditious fellows?' We say not. They were 'the law-abiding' portion; and Pilate and Caiphas, and the priests and people who cried 'crucify him,' they were the lawless and anarchical at that time (cheers). Our revolutionary sires were lawless men, very lawless men, when they lived; and Bunker Hill was a very lawless affair; and the plains of Lexington and Concord presented an array of lawless men, and they were so regarded and treated at that time; but we, their descendants, think that they were the law-abiding people, faithful to justice, faithful to liberty, in opposition to tyranny in the name of law attempting to take away their rights (applause).

Now, we are driven out from New York; we are compelled to make our appeal to the interior. We come from the great commercial emporium to the City of Syracuse. Thank God, large as is the *City* of New York, *it* is not the State of New York! (Applause.) Thank God, wealthy and mighty as is the City of New York, it is powerless as against the Empire State [cheers]. We have had no doubt how we should be received in these regions, and that here at least is a determination that there shall be the right of free speech, come what may [loud cheers], and that the right of the people to assemble together shall not be invaded here [renewed applause].

Fellow citizens, we do not stand here as a Society to be endorsed by you; the question is not *how* we are to abolish Southern Slavery, but here we stand as citizens and men of the North [hear, hear]. The first great question to be settled is *not* how Slavery is to be abolished, but whether *we* shall have a padlock put upon our lips; and the reception you give us will be on that broad issue. We ask no more at your hands [cheers].

In Boston, we are shut out from Faneuil Hall; its doors are bolted and barred against liberty; chains have been put around our court house, and the Slave Power rules the city. But we made our appeal from Boston to Worcester—from Faneuil Hall to the heart of the Commonwealth, and that heart proved that it was in the right place, and gave us a most enthusiastic welcome [loud cheers]. Now, people of Western New York and Syracuse, what do you say? Will you let us speak here? [Cries of "aye, aye," and immense applause.] Shall we say just what we think on the subject of Liberty and Slavery? Will you defend the right of speech? [Loud cheers.] I am sure that, in this matter, your hearts will be as the heart of one man; however you may differ on minor points, I know that the people of the North *never* will surrender the right of free speech [Enthusiastic applause].

And as for putting down this movement by violence, by any Presidential proclamations, or otherwise, the attempt is not only absurd, but it is *impious*. What is it that terrifies this nation? It is not man: man is puny. It is God, by His spirit moving upon the waters of public opinion—calling this nation to account for its great iniquity, and the tyrants and their abettors tremble, and well they may.

Can we doubt what will be the result of all this? That sooner or later the triumph, the Jubilee is to come. The songs of the redeemed, like the voices of many waters, are to go up thundering heavenward [applause].

I long to see that day, for the sake of so large a portion of our countrymen who are enslaved, as well as for the sake of their enslavers. I want them to see how much better it is to love the living God than to bow down to Moloch, and worship Satan as God. Nothing can stop this movement. All the signs of the times are glorious. It is true that, by cunning and lying, they stole poor Sims from Boston, the other day; after that came *Sumner* [enthusiastic cheers]. That is only the first drop of the coming shower. Put down this cause! They will never bind the spirit of Freedom; it will go on, and ultimately it must triumph [loud cheers].

Gerrit Smith, who was on rising received with great and continued applause, said.—Mr President, before you proceed to the regular business of the Convention, I wish to offer a Resolution. It will be seen that that Resolution is not to be passed upon by your Society, nor by this whole meeting, but only by such persons in it as reside in Central New York, and are Abolitionists of Central New York.

I will not express to you, sir, all the pleasure I feel in this visit of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the city of Syracuse. I hope that you and your associates will feel yourselves to be at home amongst us. I hope you will feel that you are not among strangers. Most of us are strangers to you, though *you* are not strangers to us. We have long known you, though we have not before, at least many of us, seen your faces, or heard your voices, still, I say, we have long known you. We have known you from the productions of your pens, from the numerous reports of your works of faith and your labors of love. We recognize *you*, sir, and your noble associates as the pioneers of our great and glorious and blessed Anti-Slavery Cause. And not only this, sir, but we recognize you as having well followed up what we have well begun. [Cheers.] We have to say, and I lament the necessity, to some Abolitionists, "ye did run well." We can say this of *you*; but we can add, and "ye did continue to run well." [Loud cheers.] I hope, sir, that you will feel yourselves at home amongst us. We welcome you from the very bottom of our hearts. We welcome you to the city of Syracuse in the name of free discussion I welcome you to this city of free discussion. You have referred in your remarks, to the outrage on the right of free speech which the City of New York has been guilty of. Honorably, gloriously does the rising city of Syracuse contrast with the great city of New York [Cheers.]

It is quite too late in the day for the people to array themselves against free speech and yet prosper. [Loud cheers] It is quite too late, in the afternoon of the 19th century, for any city, for any people to trample upon the right of free speech, and yet retain good name. You have well said in the call of this meeting, that the city is left to historical infamy. Historical infamy awaits that city, in that it has trampled on the great and sacred right of free discussion. What! sir, a people deny the right of free speech? The people that will do that wrong are to be remembered among the deadliest enemies of both God and *man*. [Cheers. And, I add, they who will consent to the surrender of the right free speech, consent to be debased, to debase themselves, consent to be unmanned, consent to unman themselves. Yes, sir, we welcome you to the city of Syracuse. We welcome you to Central New York. We welcome you to our homes. We welcome you to our hearts. And not only is it the American Anti-Slavery Society that we welcome,—we welcome also George Thompson. [Immense cheering.] For being a *foreigner*, he is not, perhaps, technically a member of the *American* Anti-Slavery Society. I know that he is substantially such, for I know that his heart is in the fullest sympathy with your principles and the spirit of your measures. We welcome him, and are glad to see him again. We shall be glad to come once more under the fascinations of his eloquence. We shall be glad to hang once more upon those lips, all of whose utterances are consecrated to Truth and Freedom [Cheers.] We welcome you, and we beg you to speak out freely, not to feel yourselves trammelled by any consideration Tell us of our errors that we may correct them; for we Abolitionists of Central New York have our errors. We are willing to receive light into our minds from any source whatever. Our hearts are open to the influences of truth, come from whatever quarter they may. Speak out to us freely; we shall receive it in all the affectionateness of our hearts, whatever you may say to us.—[Cheers.] Joy, then, to you, Wm. Lloyd Garrison; to you, George Thompson; to you, Edmund Quincy; to you, Henry C. Wright; to you, Francis Jackson; to you Samuel May, Jr.; to you, George W. Putnam; to Frederick Douglass and the noble men and women associated with you. We welcome you. We desire to tender to you the hand of fellowship, we pledge you our co-operation.

Now, sir, having made these remarks, I will read to you the Resolution of which I spoke. As I have said this Resolution is to be passed by those Abolitionists present who reside in Central New York, and who are accustomed to call that Central New York which is bounded on the one hand by Lake Ontario, and which extends 75 or 100 miles east of Syracuse, and as much west.

[Resolution, see official report.]

Rev. Samuel. J. May, of Syracuse, next addressed the meeting, and was, on rising, greeted with much applause He said: I ask leave to say a few words, standing as I do between the Abolitionists east and the Abolitionist of Central New York, though now perhaps a party to both. I thank Mr. Gerrit Smith for his generous reception of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with which I have been identified from the beginning. Coming from *him* the most distinguished philanthropist of New York, this welcome is peculiarly grateful. [Applause.] For one, I am more especially gratified by his generous words, because their are many in this community who may not have supposed that he and those who are known in this region as the most uncompromising Abolitionists have been, and are still, not so alienated from the New England Abolitionists but that he and they may co-operate with such men as Mr. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Mrs. Abby K. Foster, Francis Jackson and others, that could be named in that glorious company. [Applause.] But, sir, I do assure you I have known it to be otherwise since I have had the happiness of residing in this place. Soon after coming here I attended a meeting of the abolitionists of this region, known as the Liberty party. I was received by them with the utmost cordiality, and allowed to express my opinions whether they agreed or whether they differed from theirs, with the utmost freedom. I heard from them the most cordial expressions of regard for the American Anti-Slavery Society, however, we were known to differ from them in our *modus operandi*. As to an interest in the Anti-Slavery cause, I do not believe that it has ever been less in the bosoms of Gerrit Smith and his fellow laborers than in ours. [Cheers.] They have differed from us on one or two points, that in times past seemed to us of no little importance, because they tended to shape a different course to that pursued by us; but if they have believed the Constitution of United States to be an Anti-Slavery document, it has been with the determination to make it tell for the accomplishment of that for which by their interpretation they believed it to be designed, not less than we who believe ing the American Constitution to be a *pro*-slavery document have determined to do what we can to overturn it. Both they and we have aimed at the same result,—the overthrow of American Slavery, believing it to be the greatest curse of our country, as well as of our common humanity. I have felt no let or hindrance in meeting with those Abolitionists of Central New York, and have received from them many expressions of cordial regard, not for myself individually, but for the society with which I have been identified. [Applause.] I have heard in their meetings so many expressions of cordial regard for *you*, sir, [addressing Mr. Garrison] to whom my soul has been knit ever since I heard your first discourse on the subject of Slavery, I had heard so many expressions of cordial regard and profound respect for you and for those who have been co-operating with you, not to long to see you better acquainted with one another. [Applause.] And I have rejoiced this day that I am permitted to witness what I have so ardently longed for.

Mr. Smith has welcomed you to Central New York. I welcome you again to the Central city of New York, my adopted home, Syracuse, the city of salt. (Applause.) A city not indeed so thouroughly seasoned with Anti-Slavery, as to be prepared to embrace all the doctrines of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but I will claim for this noble young city that we do appreciate and mean to maintain the liberty of speech. [Great Applause.] I do not believe that throughout our country there has been any community in which there has been a more hearty and enthusiastic condemnation, and that too from men of all political parties, as well as of no political parties, of the infernal Fugitive Slave Law. [Great Cheers.] Scarcely had that law been passed, when this city was summoned by a call, signed by men of all political parties and of no political parties, and this hall was filled to its utmost capacity for two successive evenings, and our Mayor most gladly presided. I have heard of no more enthusiastic and general condemnation of that most accursed enactment from any part of the country. [Cheers.]

We are waking up here, if any have slumbered. Men, who, years ago, opposed the Anti-Slavery cause, have been grieved to see that our country has became so terribly enslaved to the will of the slaveholder, as to have enacted such an infamous law as *that;* and have thought that it was indeed time to stand up for their *own rights* [Applause.] I do not say that we are all Anti-Slavery men in Syracuse; but I do say that *we are all for liberty of speech*. [Loud Cheers.] If there are men, who in their hearts wish to suppress it, that they may please their sovereign taskmasters, they hardly dare declare that wish amongst us. I know not that there are any such, I will not condemn any man until his own conduct condemns him. [Cheers.]

I welcome you to this hall, which has resounded again and again with Anti-Slavery sentiments, that would have done *your* heart good, could you have heard them. I welcome you to the city of Syracuse named after that city, where the Philosopher of old, Archimides lived, who only longed for a spot, on which he might stand, and for a fulcrum upon which he might put his lever to show its power. I believe, sir, that central New York is the place, I believe also that *liberty* of speech is the fulcrum, and that *truth* is the lever, by which the tremendous abomination of Slavery will be overturned. [Great Applause.] [The resolution which may be found in the official report, was then put to the meeting by Mr. Smith, and carried unanimously amidst the most enthusiastic cheering.]

Wm. Lloyd Garrison said I will not occupy your time by any expressions of grateful acknowledgement for the cordial welcome Mr. Smith has on your part extended to us. I will only say that if the act of driving out a society like this from the city of New York be one that must cover that city with historical infamy, then it follows, that the warm reception given us in this place will cover your city with historical renown. A poem on the circumstances attending the meeting of Syracuse instead of New York, was then recited by its author Mr. G. W. Putnam, after which the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At two o'clock precisely the President called the convention to order.

Francis Jackson Esq, the Treasurer of the Society read the Annual Report for the past year.

On motion to that effect the report was unanimously accepted.

Rev. S. J. May then moved the resolutions relating to Mr. Thompson, which may be found in the official report.

Edmund Quincy Esq. then rose to support the resolutions and was received with general Applause. He said: I think it is hardly necessary that I should support the resolutions you have just heard read, so far as they relate to my excellent and honored friend upon my right. I think they form a very satisfactory speech in themselves; that they include the whole gist of the matter, and express the sense of every true hearted man on this side of the Atlantic. [Applause.]

There are many things, for which this nation prides itself; many qualities of mind, of heart, and of character which America seems to think peculiarly belonging to herself, and which Americans seem to consider in a manner as their monopoly, to which they have an inherent right, and with which no one else may interfere. I think that it is entitled to one characteristic, one to which it does not always lay claim, and that is to being the *most impudent nation* upon the face of the earth. We have heard of Milesian impudence, and of Gascon assurance. Various nations, have by the predominance of this attribute in their character had attached to their names the quality of impudence, of assurance, of audacity; but I do not think that there ever was a nation that has so richly earned the character of impudence as the American nation.

Why, sir, what is the whole tone of the press? The tone not only of the press, but that of the pulpit, the senate, of men in high places, with respect to the gentleman named in these resolutions, is that it is a case of foreign interference. That because a man has seen fit to come to this country to do as he has a perfect right, to express his opinions upon any one of our institutions, that, therefore, he is an interloper, that it is a case of impertinent foreign interference, that he is a man to be frowned down, and if he cannot be frowned down, he is to be hooted or pelted down.

Well, I should really like to know what our country would have been without "foreign interference?"—What is the very possession of this country by the Anglo Saxon race, but a case of foreign interferance?—When our Pilgrim fathers came to Plymouth, exchanged glass beads for broad acres, and drove out the inhabitants, what were they but interlopers, and what was it but a case of "foreign interference?" This country has been built up by the interference of foreignors. They have modified our institutions, and the character of our population. It has been one continued course of foreign interference, and yet we have heard no complaint of this interference with our affairs until a foreigner appeared to point his finger at the plague spot of the American nation, that which she was so careful to hide from the public gaze under the complicated folds of Church and State, before which she strives to conjure up the clouds and mists of prejudice so that we may not appear to the nations of the earth to be sick from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot. [Applause.]

Americans did not repel the interference of Polish Kosciusko, of the Scotchman Mercer, of the English Lee and Sterling, or of the Frenchman Lafayette, in the struggle with the mother country! They welcomed them all, gave them commands in their army, welcomed any one who would dedicate his sword to the cause of freedom: men who, as Lafayette said to Thomas Clarkson, almost with his dying words, would never have drawn their swords in the cause of America if they had dreamed that it was for the establishment and maintenance of American Slavery [applause].

There was no objection to these foreign interlopers, they were welcomed and lauded; and when the chiefest of them returned to this country after an absence of forty years, with what a triumphal procession did he pass through the land, the nation's guest! And how had he earned that triumph? What had placed the laurel upon his brow, and sent the whole nation ashouting train after his chariot wheels? It was that he had done the very thing which now we complain of, in regard to a man who had *dared* to come and interfere with the domestic institutions of this country. Now, I must say that this is a very impudent nation (cheers), a nation that will make such a distinction as this.

My excellent friend here is not to blame in that he was born on the other side of the Atlantic,—at least I have heard him say that he did not think he was. (Laughter.) I am not to blame I am sure that I was born here, although in this respect I have more to be ashamed of than my excellent friend. (Applause.) I confess I am ashamed of my country. I do not think it any thing to brag of that I am an American. But God has placed me here, and I must take my place in the ranks, and perform the duty which the great Creator has assigned to me. If a friend chooses to come to assist me shall I refuse him? Why what and an absurd and ridiculous notion is this, to shut the gate in the face of its best friends—in the face of one who comes to tell us of our sins, to warn us of our doom; who comes not with trumpet and sabre and drum, but only with the words of living truth, whose weapons are from the armory of God. [Applause.]

[The space which the verbatim report prepared by our reporter would occupy compels us to abridge the remaining portion of Mr. Quincy's admirable address.]

Mr. Quincy continued that the American nation was not very careful to avoid interference in the affairs of foreign nations. The whole history of European revolutions showed that America had been the first to countenance and support them. With regard to Austria and the Hungarian struggle America had been guilty of interference, and even Gen. Lewis Cass had recommended that the acquaintance of Austria should be cut, that the civilities of political position should be withheld. Just as if America were even worthy to unloose the shoes of Austria. Austria would honor America if she kicked her out of her presence. [Applause.] In view of all these facts, and of that disposition to interfere, America had not much of a case to make out against George Thompson. [Applause.]—Why should America have been disturbed by the arrival of Geo. Thompson? Why was it that the stones of Boston cried out against it, and that Faneuil Hall spewed him out, and that in Springfield he was burned in effigy? He was happy to see, however, that he had met with a resurrection. [Loud Applause.] America with a population of twenty millions could not have been afraid of the man—they were afraid of the truth that he was about to utter: and there was nothing that a criminal dreaded so much as to hear the truth told of him. Tell as many lies as you please of him and he will not complain. So was it with this nation. America feared the truth, not George Thompson. For these reasons did it appear that ours was the most impudent nation on the face of the earth, as well as the most inconsistent.

Frederick Douglass next addred the Convention. He said, I have snatched this opportunity to say a few words, because I fear that I shall not have an opportunity if we are permitted to discuss these resolutions long. I desire to say a word in commendation not merely of him whose presence here is its own commendation, but of the friends of humanity in England, to whom reference is made in the resolutions. I feel that, as Abolitionists, we are profoundly indebted to the Abolitionists of England, Ireland and Scotland, for the many efficient testimonies borne by them, from time to time, against the system of American Slavery. In this connection I may remark that I am aware that there are a great many people in this country, good people too, who are averse to what they call foreign interference, and who affirm that the American people are capable of themselves managing the whole question of Slavery; and that interference from abroad, moreover, tended to retard, rather than to hasten, success. They say that it is impudent and insolent for a foreigner, no way identified with our institutions, to interfere with those institutions, and that all such interference should be rebuked and must be a failure in every respect.

Now, I think that we, as a nation, have no right to claim exemption from criticism from abroad. I maintain we have no right to claim that this question of American Slavery is a question upon which and with which we have every thing to do, and no one else has anything to do. We cannot make this our own question alone: it belongs to the whole human family [loud cheers]. We have three millions of people in this land utterly dead in the estimation of all our religious institutions; they are unknown to our Missionary, Tract, Bible or Temperance Societies, and their condition is never by them referred to. They are placed beyond the pale of all philanthropic movements in this country, excepting those Abolitionists who have identified themselves with them. The American nation has thrust upon the whole world the work of redressing the wrongs of these millions. If it is in bad taste for the foreigner to interfere with American institutions, Americans may thank themselves for this interference [loud cheers].

By casting out the blacks from the sympathies of this country, from their benevolent regards and from their institutions for the improvement of mankind, they have presented them to the world, civilized and savage, to take up their cause and plead for them. George Thompson was invited to this country by a larger number than ever before invited any man to this land. He was invited by 3,000,000 of people. There was no letter sent, there were no voices heard; the death-like silence throughout the South in regard to the groans and tears of the down-trodden millions welcomed him with an eloquence which could never be transferred to paper. [Applause.] He comes here to pour out his soul in their behalf. His constituency, it is said, desire him at home. His constituency is here. The Tower Hamlets want him at home; the slave-prisons of New Orleans, the shambles at Vicksburg, the whipping-posts and dungeons call more loudly for him to remain here, than any call from the Tower Hamlets. [Loud cheers.]

He is wanted here, and here, if I could persuade him, he would make his home. He would do more for humanity here than I believe he could do even at home. He could do here for his constituency in England, what he could not do at home. Who is there that does not know that the grand obstruction to popular freedom in England is the system of Slavery in this country. It is an argument opposed to the reformers of England, against almost every reform that is urged. What argument more potential against Reform in England, than to point to American Slavery here, and assert that our *free* institutions are a failure. When we speak of the United States and praise its institutions, how are our assertions met in England? We are told that we commence by saying that all men are born free and equal, and yet we live in a land in which every sixth man, woman and child is a slave. When they speak of the equal rights of this country, and its freedom, we are told that there is no respect for human rights in the United States, and that the veriest tyrants that have ever cursed the earth are the men whom the Democrats, the Reformers of England, are desirous to imitate.—For we must remember that although England has its laws of primogeniture, its alliance of Church with State, yet it has no Slavery. Although it has rags and poverty, it has no Slavery. With the example of the United States, the opponents of Reform in England are able to baffle if not to put down the reformatory movements in England. I look upon American Slavery as the grand obstruction to progress throughout the world, and a blow *dealt* for the destruction of Slavery will be a blow dealt in behalf of human freedom throughout the world. [Great cheers.]

Get American Slavery out of the way, and freedom throughout the world will be revived; get Slavery out of this country, and it will become what it has long professed to be—the beacon light of liberty to all who have struggled for equal rights throughout the world. Now this matter of Slavery is a matter with which not only Americans have to deal, but one with which all mankind may rightfully have something to do; and I rejoice to know that England and Englishmen are not disposed to hold their tongues although they are bidden so to do by the people of the United States.

Mr. Douglass then referred to the opinions of christian bodies in England, with respect to Slavery. Years ago, such men as Dr. Cox were welcomed in British pulpits and received everywhere with consideration; but the instructions under which the church of England had been put by such men as Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and George Thompson had much changed their sentiments, have resolved them to exclude such men. They had no right to hospitality in England, or elsewhere. He took the ground, that a slaveholder had no right to live, and therefore that above all the apologist for Slavery had no right to live; to receive, at any rate, a welcome in any part of the universe. He is as much an enemy to the human race, and as much to be detested as the tiger. He has no right to our sympathies until he shall repent. If these apologists were ignorant it would be a different thing, if they were innocent of the crime. But it could not be said so. They were endeavoring to preach themselves into high places. The clerical advocates of the fugitive slave law had this object in view—at any rate they aimed at popularity. They advocate that law because they know that by so doing they may perchance get into some of the high places.

Mr. Douglas then remarked briefly on the view of the subject taken by Mr. Quincy, and concurred with him that this was indeed the most inconsistent and most impudent nation that had ever existed. He remarked that it had been asserted, as a reason for England's non-*interference* that she had placed Slavery here. If so then had she an increased right to endeavor to rid us of what she has become convinced is a curse and a disgrace. Nations could help each other. It was a happy circumstance that nations did not all advance equally in the path of reform. In one thing one nation made more progress than another. We had sent our temperance agents to England to convert the beer-loving English, and no complaint had been made. We had advanced more than the English in the cause of Temperance Reform. The English could instruct us on the subject of Slavery, but in that case they advanced a step further than we.

Mr. Douglass, in referring to the term *impudent*, which Mr. Quincy had applied to America, made some rather amusing remarks. It was, he said, a word with which he and his people were very familiar. If a negro came into a white man's presence in the South, with his hat on, he was told he was impudent. The same, if he passed on the inner side of the side walk. To assert their rights was to be impudent. However, he could not say with Mr. Quincy that we were an impudent people, because he was white, whilst he was a black. (Laughter.)

Mr. D. then referred to the fact, that whilst the *New York Herald* was condemning foreign interference in the person of George Thompson, it was advocating the interference of America in the affairs of St. Domingo. So much for *consistency*. He said that he had just learned that Bennett himself constituted a case of *huge interference* as he was a Scotchman. (Laughter.)

[This Report of the Speeches made at the Annual Meeting will be continued in our next number.]

Miscellaneous News.

Suit for Freedom Decided.—The chancery suit brought by Clarissa, a mulatto woman held as a slave, to assert her freedom, against B. Ferry and wife, who claimed to be her owners, and which has been for some time pending in the Franklin Circuit Court, was last week decided in favour of Clarissa, and a decree establishing her freedom rendered by Judge McHenry.—The ground upon which the counsel for complainant relied was that some twelve years ago, Clarissa, by consent of a former owner, was taken to and detained in Pennsylvania some *seven* moths, contrary to the statute of the State, which abolished slavery there, and which allowed sojourners to retain slaves within the State, as personal attendants, only *six* months. The case will probably be taken to the Court of Appeals.

The suit was originally brought by Judge McKee, as counsel for Clarissa, but it has lately been conducted by Messrs. J. & W. L. Harlan and W. L. Callendar for complaint, and Messrs. Reed and Leavy for defendants.

Those editors who denounce the fugitive slave law upon the ground that if a negro really entitled to be free, should be returned under its operations, he would have no chance to assert his freedom in a slave State, may find in this case, and in hundreds of like cases, which have occurred, a practical conclusive refutation of their teachings.—*Frankfort [Ky.] Commonwealth, April 29th.*

——Governor Johnston has not signed the bill repealing the section of the Kidnapping Law of March 3d, 1847, which prohibits the use of the Jails of this Commonwealth for the detention of Fugitives from Labor; consequently the Jail at Harrisburg could not be used for the safe-keeping of the fugitive slaves from Columbia, who were brought before United States Commissioner McAllister for examination Of course the repealing act cannot become a law until is has the signature of the Executive, which he may withhold until any time previous to three days after the convening of the next Legislature.—*Gettysburg [Pa.] Star and Banner.*

——Recipients of Gerrit Smiah Lands.—Edward Manning, one of the 75 City donors of the Gerrit Smith lands in Franklin County, writes us in relation to the movements making for the settlement of these lands. Several families have already left the city for the purpose of establishing on their lands in Franklin County, and others are now expected to follow. The contemplated Whitehall and Lake Champlain Railroad is surveyed through town 14, (where the land is located,) which will greatly benefit the settlers, by affording facilities for sending timber and agricultural products to market. Of the 75 donors but 8 have sold out, and none of the rest, says Mr. manning, would sell out for the greatest inducement; and he expects that when those who have emigrated have fairly effected an opening they will not easily get discouraged by the sudden transformation from city to country life. We publish the above to disabuse the public mind as to the condition of these land, which have been the subject of so much controversy.—*Tribune.*

——A Slave Refusing his Liberty.—A Southern gentleman has recently been stopping at the Revere House, with a slave who was his personal attendant. The slave, upon being informed by persons here that his master had no right to restrain him, but that he was under the laws at perfect liberty to go where he pleased, refused to break his chains in this way, and returned yesterday afternoon with his master to the South.—*Traveller.*

The pious *Traveller* does not enlighten us with any inference from this remarkable statement, and herein signalizes its prudence, for we have good reason to believe that the supposed slave was a free colored man, hired to come on here to identify a fugitive slave. Such being the case, he had very good reason for going back with his "master."—*Commonwealth.*

——Fugitive Slaves Fleeing to Canada.—All or nearly a l of the fugitive slaves residing here have gone to Canada, many of them within a few days past. This is undoubtedly the happiest course; it relieves them from the apprehension of reclamation, whose continual presence is worse than Slavery itself, and although in many cases it is to the serious sacrifice of pecuniary and social advantages, the feeling of security and independence which a transfer from the Republic of America to the Provinces of a Kingly power gives them, must prove more than a full compensation. In some instances, the fugitives better their pecuniary condition by the change; we hear of one who lately went from this town, to whom his freedom would be no inducement to return, he having purchased a little farm, and engaged successfully in its cultivation.—*Springfield Rep.*

——Hard to Please.—The *Mobile Tribune* don't find much comfort in the restoration of Sims. It says;

"We cannot see the pertinency of the general exultation which in some quarters has followed the rendition of the fugitive slave Sims. We are quite willing to give the Government credit for vigilance in the enforcement of the law, but several things must be recollected. Our Government is only a creature of the majority. Two years hence an anti-fugitive slave law man may be President: Boston is only a small part of Massachusetts, and a vast majority of the people of the State, as well as all New England, are opposed to the surrender of fugitives. Sims was carried away at such a time and in such a manner as to make his case worthless as a test of the feality to the law in Boston, or of a recognition of the abstract right of the law. But, worse than all this the cost of the recovery of the slave to his master, shows that the law is totally incapable of securing the object for which the constitutional provision in relation to it was adopted—that is to provide the master against injury in his property—to secure to him restitution when that property is stolen."

MARRIAGES.

Fiske—Dwinelle.—In Cazenovia, N. Y., May 1, Theophilus Fiske, of Philadelphia, to Susan, daughter of the late Hon Justin Dwinelle, of C.

Williams—Keenan.—In Lynfield, Mass., 7th inst., by Rev. Mr. Frothingham, J. Otis Williams. Esq., of Boston, to Miss Emily, daughter of Thos. Keenan, M. D. of L.

Walworth—Hardin.—On the 17th ult., at Jacksonville, Ill., Ex-Chancellor Walworth to Mrs. Hardin, widow of Col. Hardin, who was killed at the battle of Buena Vista.

DEATHS.

Hone.—In this city, on Monday of last week, Philip Hone, Esq., in his 71st year.

LUCY STONE,

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Plympton, Mass., Friday, May 16

WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

At a Convention of Women held in Salem in April last, it was resolved that we the women of Ohio will meet annually in Convention to consult upon and adopt measures for the removal of the various disabilities—political, social, religious, legal and pecuniary—to which women, as a class, are subjected, and from which result so much misery, degradation and crime.

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to issue a call and make necessary arrangements for the Convention of the present year.

As men and women have the same origin and destiny, and can therefore have no legitimate aims or interests independent of each other—as their relations and obligations are mutual—as the bonds that unite them are inevitable and indissoluble—as whatever degrades or ennobles one has a corresponding effect on the other—it is fitting that men should co-operate with us in our efforts at emancipation from the ignorance and thraldom of ages. We therefore cordially invite all the friends of Self-Government and Human Equality to meet in Convention at AKRON, Summit Co., on WEDNESDAY, 28th of May next, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

To all the friends of Reform, in whatever department engaged, we say—Come, give us your presence and counsel. Give it for the sake of our cause. Give it because none of the kindlier efforts to alleviate humanity can fully realize their objects while one-half the laborers in Reform are disfranchised by law, perverted by education and degraded by the opinions and customs of society. War will continue to devastate the nations—Slavery, political and personal, will crush humanity—Intemperance and Sensuality will pollute the earth, while so much of the moral power which should be arrayed against them is lost by the position woman now occupies.

C. D. SMALLEY,
M. L. GILBERT,
E. ROBINSON.
Com. of Arrangements.

OLD COLONY.

A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Pembroke Town Hall, on Saturday evening, and all day Sunday, May 17 and 18.

C. C. Burleigh, N. H. Whiting, and Lucy Stone, will be present.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. Brigham, *Secretary.*

THE SLAVE 'PERRY'—HIS FREE PAPERS.

The slave known by the name of Perry Wilson, formerly owned by Georgiana Sleeper, of Baltimore, which place he left in 1847 or 1848, and when last heard from was at the Parker House, New Bedford, is informed that he can have his free papers by calling upon Ellis Gray Loring, 27 State street, or at G. W. Sleeper's 130 Washington street.

The press will confer a great favor on the said Perry by giving an insertion to the substance of the above.

THE BRITISH PERIODICALS
AND THE
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CONTINUE to publish the four leading British Quarterly Reviews and Blackwood's Magazine; in addition to which they have recently commenced the publication of a valuable Agricultural work, called the

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By Henry Stephens, F.R.S, of Edinburg, author of the "*Book of the Farm*," &c. &c.; assisted by John P. Norton, M. A., New Haven, Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College, &c., &c.

This highly valuable work will comprise two large royal octavo volumes, containing over 1400 pages, with 18 or 20 splendid steel engravings, and more than 600 engravings on wood, in the highest style of the art, illustrating almost every implement of husbandry now in use by the best farmers, the best methods of ploughing, planting, haying, harvesting, &c. &c., the various domestic animals in their highest perfection; in short, the *pictorial* feature of the book is unique, and will render it of incalculable value to the student of agriculture.

The work is being published in Semi-monthly Numbers, of 64 pages each, exclusive of the Steel engravings, and, when not taken in connection with the Reviews or Blackwood, is sold at 25 Cents each, or $5 for the entire work in numbers, of which there will be at least twenty-two:

The British Periodicals Re-published are as follows, viz.:

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW (Conserv'e),
THE EDINGBURG REVIEW (Whig),
THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW (Free-Church),
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (Liberal), and
BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE (Tory)

Although these works are distinguished by the political shades above indicated, yet but a small portion of their contents is devoted to political subjects. It is their *literary* character which gives them their chief value, and in that they stand confessedly far above all other journals of their class. *Blackwood*, still under the masterly guidance of *Christopher North*, maintains its ancient celebrity, and is, at this time, unusually attractive, from the serial works of Bulwer and other literary notables, written for that magazine, and first appearing in its columns both in Great Britain and in the United States. Such works as "The Caxtons" and "My New Novel" (both by Bulwer), "My Peninsular Medal," "The Green Hand, and other serials, of which numerous rival editions are issued by the leading publishers in this country, have to be reprinted by those publishers from the pages of Blackwood, after it has been issued by Messrs. Scott & Co., so that Subscribers to the Reprint of that Magazine may always rely on having the earliest reading of these fascinating tales.

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Miscellany.

From Chambers' Edinburgh Journal

A MODEST CELEBRITY.

Some years ago I set out to visit Italy for the first time, and took my way up the Rhine and through Switzerland. A lady friend whom I was to meet, with her family at Milan, had desired me to bring her some of Jean Maria Farina's true and genuine eau de Cologne; and anxious, like a true knight, to fulfil the behest of lady fair, no sooner was I arrived at Cologne, and the duties of the toilet and my breakfast were over, than I sallied out to execute my commission. I had not taken twenty steps along the street, when, over a warehouse door, a large board struck my eye, thus inscribed in gigantic capitals—

ONLY VERITABLE AGENT FOR THE SALE OF
JEAN MARIA FARINA'S GENUINE EAU DE COLOGNE.

This was just what I wanted. The shop contained nothing but bottles of eau de Cologne, for the most part neatly packed by dozens in slight wooden boxes. I made my purchase, desired the box to be carried to the hotel, and went forth to take a survey of the town. But I had not proceeded many steps further, before another sign-board made precisely the same pretensions for its shop, as being the sole depository of the genuine eau de Cologne by Jean Maria Farina. I was startled. 'I hope I have made no mistake,' thought I. 'If I have, it must be rectified: there is full time.'

Vexed at my precipitancy, I walked on thoughtfully, and soon came to another, and another, and another warehouse of the same description; and so on, in every part of the town, all bearing, in every diversity of color and characters, the same announcement of being 'the sole and veritable depository of Jean Maria Farina's genuine eau de Cologne.' I made anxious inquiries of divers persons, without arriving at anything satisfactory; and so, returning to my hotel, I determined to abide by my purchase, and to present it to my fair friend as the real and genuine eau de Cologne, without disturbing her faith by the doubts that distracted my own mind. The subject vanished gradually from my thoughts, only leaving behind it a general impression of the greatness of Jean Maria Farina, that European personage, whose name had stared me thus in the face at every turn in the old town on the Rhine.

Next morning I set off for Mainz by the steamboat. The vessel was crowded with passengers, of whom the majority were English. To own the truth, I am apt to feel greatly ashamed of my countrymen—speaking of them in the mass—when I meet them abroad, swarming in steamboats, railways, and hotels. On this occasion my eye wandered over the commonplace set, with their endless and cumbersome abundance of travelling comforts in the shape of bags, baskets, bottles, and boxes of all sizes and forms. There were likewise flat-faced Germans, smoking extraordinary pipes, and wearing fantastical hats and caps; but of the whole crowd, the only individual who at all fixed my attention was a tall man somewhat advanced in years, and his black hair sprinkled with white, though he was still of comely appearance. The deep-set black eyes, olive complexion, oval-shaped head, and finely-cut features, the mobility and *finesse* of expression, the pliable and easy motions of the body, stamped him a native of the south. There was a shrewd thoughtfulness in the countenance while silent, brightening when he spoke into benevolent cheerfulness, a good-humored smile lighting his dark eyes, and disclosing a fine set of white teeth, which gave something very agreeable to the whole physiognomy. He looked like a prosperous man, well contented with himself and with the world. That his prosperity had been *earned*, seemed denoted by an appearance of activity which age had not subdued.

The old gentleman was surrounded by a numerous party, and nothing occurred to bring about any communication between us. But by an odd chance we happened to meet every day for a week either in a steamboat, on a railway, or at a *table-d'hote*—always at a distance, however, without at any time exchanging a word. There was a sort of silent acquaintance established, but we seemed under a spell which obliged us to look, and not to speak. At last it was with a kind of painful consciousness our eyes met, although feeling rather attracted than repelled; so that it was almost a relief the first day I no longer met my dark-eyed vision at supper, although I felt, notwithstanding, a lingering regret that I should now never satisfy a certain curiosity which had sprung up in my own mind as to who or what the stranger might be.

I stayed some time in Switzerland, and then went on to Italy. I crossed the Alps by the Simplon—that wonderful road conceived by the genius of Napoleon—as easy as an English turnpike-road, winding its way up through mountain pastures and vast pine forests to the regions of eternal snow and ice, and the wild territory of the avalanche. Nothing gives a more forcible impression of the power of man's intellect, struggling, calmly and successfully, with the awful powers of nature. Arrived at the summit of the pass, the descent on the Italian side begins from the village of Simplon; and you go winding down, between gigantic, perpendicular, larch-grown rocks, which seem to admit reluctantly within their jaws the road that winds along the edge of the roaring torrent, which has fretted its way during long ages through these rocky walls. Road and torrent run together confined between them, and the traveller sees the sky far above the towering masses on either side.

After passing several hours in this gorge, you issue from it suddenly, where at your feet lies, opening to view, the verdant, smiling basin of the Val d'Ossola, rich in luxuriant Italian beauty. After the stern grandeur of the Alpine pass, the view from the bridge of Crevola bursts like enchantment on the sight, presenting a wide, gracefully-circular plain, watered by a winding river, and surrounded by the most picturesque mountains, clothed half-way up their sides with rich wood, while above stand out the naked, brown mountain-tops in fantastic peaks against the blue sky. Among the dark verdure of their swelling base stand forth in strong relief cheerful white villages and country-houses, and tall square white church towers, spotting the sides of the hills, while the town of Domo d'Ossola shines smilingly at the further end of the vale. The vine, allowed to run in its elegant natural festoons, the mulberry mixed with other trees, and the soft balmy air, all tell the traveller he has set foot in Italy. Domo D'Ossola struck me as a cheerful, elegant little town. It had an Italian character, quite new to me, which took my fancy. I travelled alone, guided solely by my own inclination; and I was so much pleased with the situation, that I determined to give some days to examine a few of the numerous valleys which diverge from the Val d'Ossola, winding among these picturesque, but rarely-explored, mountains.

I have always had a passion for deviating from the high road. After resting a night at Domo, I inquired if a guide could be procured. My host informed me that as few travellers wandered from the high road, there were no regular guides, but that there was at that moment in his house a young man, servant to a gentleman of the Val Vegeste, who was returning to Santa Maria Maggiore, the principal village in that valley, whom I could accompany thus far. Arrived there, I might easily find some one else to guide me further on. The arrangement was soon made; and Battistino—so my guide was named—and I set out on foot together towards the Val Vegeste. My companion was a barefooted, tall, active, black-eyed, intelligent young fellow, with those free and supple limbs, and that somewhat melancholy cast of countenance—easily, however, brightening into an animated and cheerful variety of expression—which characterize the Italian peasant.

I knew something of the Italian language, but I was totally at a loss to communicate with my present conductor, whose only tongue was his native mountain dialect, in which I with difficulty recognized here and there some word disfigured by a pronunciation wholly new to me; so our communication was more in looks and gestures than in speech. We first retraced a short part of the road by which I had entered the town the day before; but soon deviating to the right, we crossed by a plank bridge the stream which intersects the Val d'Ossola, and proceeding to the limit of the valley in that direction, and then turning to the left, skirted the base of the mountain. Nothing could exceed the beauty of everything that met my eye. After an hour's walk, I was struck by the appearance of a very handsome country-house, which stood on a lofty eminence facing us, surrounded by noble terraced gardens. The mansion commanded the same extensive views of the beautiful valley that strike the traveller so forcibly from the bridge of Crevola. I pointed out this dwelling to my guide with an inquiring look.

'Palazzo del Signor Padrone' ('The palace of my master') was his answer.

'Your padrone then is rish'

'Hu!' returned Battistino with a long-drawn exclamation, waiving his hand expressively up and down. 'Tanto ricco!—ricchissimo! Tanto scior!' (So rich!—very rich! Such a great gentleman!') And this was followed by a long and eloquent eulogium, or history, unfortunately lost upon me, with the exception of the words, 'Generoso, generosissimo—da Paris,' by which I made out the very rich man to be likewise very generous, and to have come from Paris.

As we proceeded along our way, I found that we were not to go towards the palace, as Battistino termed the handsome dwelling upon the hill, our road turning sharp to the right, where a singularly picturesque opening gives entrance to the wild Val Vegeste. Here we crossed a bridge over a beautiful stream, flowing from between two high walls of rock, richly grown with overhanging wood. A few houses stand on this spot, and a chapel with an image of the Virgin, to which is attached a legendary miracle; and from thence a road cut in the rock leads up the course of the stream to Santa Maria Maggiore. At every step the picturesque beauties of this singular valley become more striking. As we advanced, the sound of a fine-toned church-bell came wafted on the air. It sounded like a rejoicing peal. Battistino became excited, and contrived to make me understand that the bell, the *great* bell, was a gift from his padrone to the church.

On entering Santa Maria Maggiore, we found the whole village in holiday trim: the women's heads adorned with snow-white muslin handkerchiefs, or braids of hair fastened round the back of the head by large silver pins placed in a semicircle—the latter coiffure having a peculiarly classical and Italian appearance. Some added coquettishly a natural flower on one side. Their ears and necks were adorned with large earrings and necklaces; and the neat stocking, and embroidered instep of a sort of slipper, with a wooden sole and heels, under a short smart petticoat, completed the holiday attire. Each, with fan in hand, was hurrying to church; while some, after a fashion peculiar to these mountains, carried their infants attached to their backs in light wooden cradles.

The whole formed a rich and novel scene. My guide had a word, a nod, or a smile for everybody, and you may suppose that the stranger with him excited no slight attention. Battistino seemed irresistibly impelled to follow the crowd, and led me with him into the church. We walked up a side aisle, and he pointed out from afar the alter-piece, with a gesture which implied that he looked upon it as a masterpiece of art, whispering at the same time, 'Gift of the padrone.' As I perceived the eyes of the congregation fixed upon me, I was going to propose that we should leave the church, when a numerous company entering, relieved me from the attention of the congregation, and I remained a forgotten observer. The new-comers were two young couples, surrounded by their respective friends, coming to the altar to receive the nuptial benediction.

'Pepino and Ghita, Giovanni and Maria,' said my guide in an undertone, as he pointed out the couples, and he went on to make me understand that his padrone had given the dota (marriage-portion). His enthusiasm now seemed to lose all power of expression in words, and to concentrate itself in his two bright eyes; while I thought to myself: 'This padrone of his must be a rare character—a rich and liberal man dispensing his wealth in shedding happiness among the simple population of this retired valley. I should like to see him.'

The wedding-party had stopped in the middle of the church, as if waiting for some one; a moment after, the expected person made his appearance. 'Il padrone!' exclaimed Battistino; and at the same instant I recognized my old mysterious acquaintance of the steamboat.

The priest now stood at the altar, the marriage ceremony was performed, and the blessing given. The two wedding-parties walked out of the church to return to their respective homes. At the door of the church, all crowded round Battistino's master with various expressions of affectionate and respectful gratitude, which he received with fatherly good humor, and then disengaged himself from the group. His eye had caught mine, and we exchanged a smile of recognition. Battistino darted forward, and said a few words to him; after which the stranger moved towards me, and accosting me with courteous ease in good French, said, that since fate seemed determined to procure him the pleasure of my acquaintance, I must allow him to look upon a foreigner, who did this remote valley the very rare honor of a visit, as his welcome guest. I was too well pleased with the invitation to hesitate in accepting the hospitality offered with so good a grace, and so benevolent a smile; and had I acceded less readily, a sudden clap of thunder, and the bursting of an unexpected storm over our heads, would have left me little choice: as it was, I was made doubly grateful.

I followed my new friend into the open door of a handsome house, while sudden night seemed to occupy the place of day; and the rain poured down in torrents, making me appreciate such comfortable shelter. My host was cordially and gracefully courteous. He assured me that the streams and torrents, swollen by the rain, would make it impossible to proceed in the direction I had intended; and that even when the storm abated, it would already have cut off my return to Domo; for the small stream I had crossed by a plank in the morning must now be swollen, by innumerable mountain-tributaries, into a wide, deep, and impassable torrent. He therefore begged me to submit with patience to necessity, and allow him to make me his guest for the night. He had come that morning from the country-house I had perhaps remarked before entering Val Vegeste, for the purpose of being present at the two marriages that had taken place, and purposed returning as soon as the rain cleared off. He added, that at Monte Christesi he should have the pleasure of introducing me to his wife and family. So, as soon as the storm rolled away, and a blue sky once more smiled upon the valley, Battistino brought to the door a four-wheeled open carriage drawn by one horse; he mounted the front seat as driver, and my host and I took our places behind.

We rolled along the rocky road I had followed on foot. Battistino pointed to the road, and said something to me, of which the word 'padrone' was the only one I understood. I turned to my host for an explanation. He said, laughing, 'Battistino is anxious to inform you that this road from Santa Maria Maggiore to Domo was made by me: some years ago there was only a bridle-path. Living in the neighborhood, I was of course one of the most interested in the improvement.'

Battistino turned again to add some words on the subject. At the same instant, we came to a sharp turn in the road; and as our driver's eye was not upon his horse, we ran full against a car laden with hay drawn by an ox. The wheels locked, and that of our vehicle gave way, and came off. We got out of the carriage, leaving the mortified Battistino to remedy the damage, and follow in the best way he could. As we walked on, we were overtaken by two youths, each with a pack on his back, and a staff over his shoulder, with a pair of thick-soled shoes slung upon it. They went the swift noiseless gliding pace of the barefooted Italian peasant. My host exchanged kind salutations with the lads, and bade them go on to his house, where they should sleep that night, as the swollen state of the torrents would not let them proceed farther; and he added: 'Tomorrow morning I will give you a letter which may be of use to you.' He then desired them to go on before us, and announce that he was following with a stranger gentleman.

My host then explained to me that these youths were leaving home to seek their fortunes abroad, their native valleys being too poor to maintain their population. A large portion of the males emigrate, and generally return at the end of a few months with the little earnings they have gained in some distant place by their industry; then, after a while, they go forth again, like bees to gather new honey. Their traffic is chiefly in tin-ware, or in simples, of which these mountains offer an abundant supply. During the absence of the men, the women and children cultivate the poor soil.

'Our Italians,' continued the padrone, 'are an intelligent race, full of resources, and generally succeed in what they undertake. A most erroneous impression prevails with respect to us in other countries. In my travels I have constantly heard of the idleness of the Italian peasantry—of the "*dolce far niente*" of Italy. Yet there is no country in which the peasantry labor so incessantly, and with so much intelligence, activity, and cheerful industry. I can vouch for so much at least to the credit of Lombardy and Piedmont, which I know intimately. If you, sir, were to remain long enough in this country, to have opportunities of observing our rural life, you would soon be convinced of this. No part of the world is more travelled by foreigners, and so little known. But if strangers underrate our country, most of its wandering sons hold it in loving remembrance. I have myself been absent many long years, and have seen many lands, but I never forgot this spot. I left it, fifty years ago, a poor mountain boy, like those you saw just now, and I always said in my heart, "If ever I can build a house, it shall be on Monte Christesi." I never changed my mind, and there stands my house to-day. Never did I forget my love for these valleys.' And as we advanced, he pointed out the different striking beauties of the prospect.

Everything I heard and saw served to heighten my curiosity respecting my companion, and I was framing in my mind some proper mode of shaping a few questions, when we arrived at the mansion. Here my host introduced me to his wife, a French lady, to two children, and to his brother. I immediately recognized the party in the steamboat. I was cordially received by all, almost as an old acquaintance, and the incidents of our unexpected meeting afforded subject of cheerful conversation. We sat down to dinner in a very handsome hall, ornamented, after the Italian manner, with fresco paintings on the walls and ceiling. Easy chat, and several bottles of good wine, rendered the meal very pleasant. After dinner, we passed from the dining-room to one of the garden-tarraces, where coffee was served in the open air.

The terrace on which we were overlooked several others, shelving in succession to the limits of the property. The valley, enclosed by mountains, and watered by a rushing stream, was spread at our feet. The prospect was splendid; the sky glowed with the tints of the evening sun; and the late rain brought out in exquisite freshness the aromatic scent of the flowers and of the neighboring woods.

It was a moment in which the heart opens to warm and easy sympathies. I felt no difficulty in asking my host to explain to me by what uncommon fortunes he had become, from a poor mountain boy, such as we had met in the morning, the happy possessor of so noble a property, and the benefactor of all around him.

He nodded with a shrewd and cheerful smile, saying, 'I often wonder at myself. You must know that in my travels I met with a magician who pointed the way to a golden fountain. I will tell you my modest history.

'I was born in Santa Maria Maggiore, the village you visited this morning. My parents were not so poor as the rest of the inhabitants, for my father, according to the custom I mentioned to you, had gone into foreign parts. My mother, too, accompanied him; and at the end of some years, they had collected, by their industry in managing a humble commerce, that which was a little fortune on their return to their native vale. They possessed a field more than their neighbors, and two cows to fill the double office of supplying the family with milk and drawing the plough—as you see that cow doing yonder, guided by a woman and a girl. Yet when the family increased, and three boys grew into lads, the means of the family could not suffice for our maintenance. I was the eldest, and while yet in tender years, it became necessary for me to follow the course of most of our valesmen, and go to earn a living elsewhere.

'My parents had carried on their little trade in simples in a town upon the Rhine, and they gave me a letter of recommendation to a friend and distant connection, a chemist and druggist there. With this letter, a few pieces of money in my pocket, and a pack on my back, I set out for a foreign land—distant in reality, and still more so in my imagination. The fancy of youth is always excited by the thought of travel, adventure, and independence, and my spirits kept up well till the day of departure, when the awfulness of separation from all I loved came with full force upon my heart. In those days there were no steamboats or railways—nothing to reduce distance, or ease the toils of the poor traveller. On foot, or with some occasional lift from a slow-going vehicle, or some floating raft, was I to wend my way to my remote destination. I shall never forget the day of my departure. My mother accompanied me as far as the chapel of the Madona you saw this morning. On that spot we parted with many tears. Before our last embrace, my mother knelt before the image of the Virgin, and I beside her, to implore a blessing on my adventure. Then my mother hung round my neck her own rosary. "Keep this my son," said she, "in memory of your mother. Be a good boy, and never forget your prayers. Every evening I shall say a pater and an ave for you.—Now, my boy, farewell! God bless you!"

'I have this rosary still. Sad, indeed, did I feel that night when the melancholy tinkling of the Ave Maria bell sounded from a distant village where I was to rest, and which I hastened to reach before the twilight should deepen into night. How often, through many long years, at the sound of the evening bell, did my sinking heart yearn for my mother and my home!

'Well, in due time I reached my destination, presented the letter to the protector to whom my parents had directed me, and was taken into his service. He was an intelligent man, with an inventive turn of mind, which he applied to the practical purpose of improving his business by the sale of certain mixtures, of which he alone possessed the secret.—He was of a capricious disposition, and often became disgusted with his assistants. To me, however, he took a fancy, and proved invariably kind. He initiated me into the mysteries of the laboratory sufficiently to enable me to be of real use in his operations; but he carefully kept some mysterious secrets to himself: praising, nevertheless, my intelligence, activity, and zeal, and becoming more and more attached to me. I was of a cheerful disposition, and my lively sallies and ingenuous remarks amused and cheered the old man. But while I imparted vivacity to his age, my own spirits gradually sunk under a total change of life—shut up as I was in a dismal laboratory, behind a dark shop, in a narrow street, instead of roaming among our beautiful valleys and breezy mountains. My natural bonyancy bore me up for a time; but as month after month, and even year after year rolled on in the same monotony, I sunk into unconquerable depression. All surrounding objects became disgusting to me: the very quality of the air, and color of the light, grew odious. Day and night I was haunted by the thought of the immeasurable distance I had traversed, and which divided me from home. The familiar faces and sounds of my native scenes gleamed upon me in waking dreams. The best moment of the day was when the bell of the Ave Maria brought to my lips my mother's prayer, and to my eyes a refreshing shower of tears.

'Three years had elapsed since my departure from home, when these impressions reached their greatest intensity. My gains were small, and part I had already sent to my family. I thought with agony that not only I had no store by me, but that I had not even sufficient to take me home. I felt as if I must die an outcast in a distant land. My strength failed rapidly, and at last I was obliged to take to my bed. My master consulted a medical man who often came to our shop. He examined me and pronounced my malady to be no other than nostalgia.—The only remedy was to revisit my native land. My worthy master proved himself truly kind: not only did he allow me the three months holidays to go home, but he advanced me the sum necessary for the journey, undertaken of course in the most economical way. He gave me, besides, a letter to my parents, expressive of his satisfaction with my conduct and abilities, and likewise of his desire for my return to his service.

'From that moment he obtained my unbounded gratitude and attachment. No sooner was this plan settled, than my spirits rose, and life seemed infused into my veins. In a few days I was able to rise from my bed of sickness, and set forth on my way homewards. At the first sight of my native valley, at the first breath of the mountain-breezes, at the first embrace of my father, mother, and brothers, all my ills vanished, and health and strength returned to me, as if wafted on the very air. I was speedily quite recovered. I spent a happy three months at home, and then set out to return to my kind old master with renewed courage, instead of the hopeless feeling of banishment. Now I went with the firm hope and resolve to return again, as my parents had done before me, with my modest gains, and settle in this spot, the dearest to me on earth. I trusted that a few years' exertion could accomplish this. I was animated also by a desire to prove my gratitude to my benevolent master, and I came back to his service with redoubled zeal. By degrees he initiated me into many delicate operations, and instructed me in the choice and preparation of various simples, which he often sent me on long excursions to collect. These he prepared for divers uses. His confidence in me increased, on finding that I never pressed inquiries on any point upon which he wished to maintain reserve. Each year the good old man grew more attached to me. He had no near relative of his own; I became to him as a son, and endeavored to fulfil the duties of one. Age crept on, with its infirmities; he felt life drawing to a close; and calling me to his bedside, he ordered me to take down in writing certain notes he dictated—the secret, as he termed it, of the golden fountain. "Your activity and ingenuity," said he, "will follow out these hints so as to lead you to it infallibly, my dear child. I may well call you so, for you have been an affectionate child to me."

'Not long afterwards I followed my adopted father to the grave. He had bequeathed to me all his possessions. They were humble; but I perceived that in his last instructions, if judiciously improved, he had indeed opened a road which might lead to fortune. The course pointed out shortly led me to Paris, where, without giving up my establishment on the banks of the Rhine, I opened another for the sale of genuine and improved eau de Cologne, by Jean Maria Farina.'

'Do I then stand,' exclaimed I, rising with a feeling of enthusiasm and reverence, 'in the presence of that celebrated man? Truly I may thank my fortune for having guided me so agreeably to the gratification of a strong desire in so pleasant a meeting!' My host was flattered and amused at this burst, and laughed much at the description I gave him of my perplexity at Cologne in trying to find out his real establishment.

'Tis true,' replied he, 'it stands in a very obscure corner of an old narrow street. I never left the old Ulick's Plats: I never abandoned the original establishment of my friend.' Our conversation then diverged to other interesting points, and my host added a few details which completed his autobiography.

Eau de Cologne had been to him truly an Aladdin's lamp—a magic cruise. The sale rapidly brought him a fortune. Jean Maria early visited a second time his native place, and had the happiness to lavish on his parents more comforts and luxury than had ever even entered their dreams. They dwelt long in Santa Maria Maggiore, proud and happy in their son's prosperity. He never forgot his love for his native valley, and has invested part of his property in the purchase of land in the Val Vegeste and its neighborhood. He built the mansion, and laid out the gardens on Monte Christesi, where he now received me, and where he has settled one of his brothers. His wife is French, and he has several children. He contributes with generous care to the welfare of the poor in his neighborhood. He knows intimately their wants and their feelings; and is therefore competent, from experience as well as inclination, to dispense, with the best effect, his munificence among those who want his assistance.

He constantly spends the winter in Paris, and the summer in his native home among the folds of the Alps, much loved by all around. I slept that night under the hospitable roof of Monte Christesi; and my kind host and I parted next morning with the promise of meeting again.

Ever since then, eau de Cologne is associated in my mind with the ancient cathedral town beside the Rhine—the romantic Val Vegeste and Val d'Ossola—the mansion of Monte Christesi—and the uncommon fortunes, European name, and goodly benevolent presence of Jean Maria Farina.

LONDON COSTERMONGERS.

The Irish street sellers are both a numerous and peculiar class of people. It therefore behoves me, for the due completeness of this work, to say a few words upon their numbers, earnings, condition, and mode of life.

The number of Irish street-sellers in the metropolis has increased greatly of late years. One gentleman, who had every means of being well-informed, considered that it was not too much to conclude, that, within these five years, the numbers of the poor Irish who gain a scanty maintenance, or what is rather a substitute for a maintenance, by trading, or begging, or by carrying on the two avocations simultaneously in the streets of London, had been doubled in number.

I found among the English costermongers a general dislike of the Irish. In fact, next to a policeman, a genuine London costermonger hates an Irishman, considering him an intruder. Whether there be any traditional or hereditary ill-feeling between them, originating from a clannish feeling, I cannot ascertain. The costermongers whom I questioned had no knowledge of the feelings or prejudices of their predecessors, but I am inclined to believe that the prejudice is modern, and has originated in the great influx of Irishmen and women, intermixing, more especially during the last five years, with the costermonger's business. An Irish costermonger, however, is no novelty in the streets of London. 'From the mention of the costardmonger,' says Mr. Charles Knight, 'in the old dramatists, he appears to have been frequently an Irishman.'

Of the Irish street-sellers, at present, it is computed that there are, including men, women, and children, upward of 10,000. Assuming the street-sellers attending the London fish and green-markets, to be, with their families, 30,000 in number, and 7 in every 20 of these to be Irish, we shall have rather more than the total above given. Of this large body three-fourths sell only fruit, and more especially nuts and oranges; indeed the orange season is called the 'Irishman's harvest.' The others deal in fish, fruit, and vegetables, but these are principally men. Some of the most wretched of the street-Irish deal in such trifles as lucifer-matches, watercresses, &c.

I am informed that the great mass of these people have been connected, in some capacity or other, with the culture of the land in Ireland. The mechanics who have sought the metropolis from their sister kingdom have become mixed with their respective handicrafts in England, some of the Irish—though only a few—taking rank with the English skilled laborers. The greater part of the Irish artizans who have arrived within the last five years are to be found among the most degraded of the tailors and shoemakers who work at the East-end for the slop-masters.

A large class of the Irish who were agricultural laborers in their country are to be found among the men working for bricklayers, as well as among the dock-laborers and excavators, &c. Wood-chopping is an occupation greatly resorted to by the Irish in London. Many of the Irish, however, who are not regularly employed in their respective callings, resort to the streets when they cannot obtain work otherwise.

The Irish women and girls who sell fruit, &c., in the streets, depend almost entirely on that mode of traffic for their subsistence. They are a class not sufficiently taught to avail themselves of the ordinary resources of women in the humbler walks of life. Unskilled at their needles, working for slop employers, even at the common shirt-making, is impossible to them. Their ignorance of household work, moreover, (for such description of work is unknown in their wretched cabins in many parts of Ireland), incapacitates them in a great measure for such employments as 'charing,' washing and ironing,' as well as from regular domestic employment. Thus there seems to remain to them but one thing to do—as, indeed, was said to me by one of themselves—viz: 'to sell for a ha'pinny the three apples which cost a farruthing.'

Very few of these women (or indeed of the men, though rather more of them than the women) can read, and they are mostly all wretchedly poor; but the women present two characteristics which distinguish them from the London coster-women generally—they are chaste, and, unlike the 'coster girls very seldom form any connection without the sanction of the marriage ceremony. They are, moreover, attentive to religious observances.

The majority of the Irish street-sellers of both sexes, beg, and often very eloquently, as they carry on their trade; and I was further assured that, but for this begging, some of them would starve outright.

The greater proportion of the Irish street-sellers are from Leinster and Munster, and a considerable number come from Connaught.

From an Irish coster-monger, a middle-aged man, with a physiognomy best known as 'Irish,' and dressed in corduroy trowsers, with a loose great coat far too big for him, buttoned about him, I had the following statement:

'I had a bit o'land, yer honor, in County Limerick. Well, it wasn't just a farrum, nor what ye would call a garden here, but my father lived and died on it—glory be to God!—and brought up me and my sister on it. It was about an acre, and the taties was well known to be good. But the sore times came, and the taties was afflicted, and the wife and me—I have no childer—hadn't a bite nor a sup, but wather to live on, and an igg or two. I filt the famine a comin'. I saw people afeedin' on the wild green things, and I had not such a bad take. I got Mr. ——— (he was the head master's agent) to give me 28s. for possession in quietness, and I sould some poultry I had—their iggs was a blessin to keep life in us—I sould them in Limerick for 3s. 3d.—the poor things—four of them. The furnithur I sould to the nabors, for somehow about 6s. It's the thruth I'm tellin' of you, sir, and there's 2s. owin of it still, and will be a perpitual loss.—The wife and me walked to Dublin, though we had bether have gone by the 'long say,' but I didn't understand it thin, and we got to Liverpool. Then sorrows the taste of worruk could I git, beyant oncte 3s. for two days barrud porthering, that broke my back half in two. I was tould I'd do bethher in London, and so, glory be to God! I have—perhaps I have. I knew Mr. ———, he porthers at Coventgarden, and I made him out, and hilped him in any long distance of a job. As I'd been used to farruming' I thought it good raison I should be a costermonger, as they call it here. I can read and write too. And some good Christian—the heavens light him to glory when he is gone!—I don't know who he was—advanced me 10s.—or he gave it me, so to spake, through Father ———.' (a Roman Catholic priest.) 'We earrun what keeps the life in us. I don't go to markit, but buy of a fair dealin' man—so I count him—though he's harrud sometimes. I can't till how many Irishmen is in the thrade. There's many has been brought down to it by the famin' and the changes. I don't go much among the English street-dealers. They talk like haythens. I never miss mass on a Sunday, and they don't know what the blessed mass manes. I'm almost glad I have no childer, to see how they're rained here, indeed, sir, they're not rained at all—they run wild. They haven't the fear of God, or the saints. They'd hang a praste—glory be to God! they would.'

One Irishman, also a fruit-seller, with a well-stocked barrow, and without the complaint of poverty common among his class, entered keenly into the subject of his religious faith when I introduced it. He was born in Ireland, but had been in England since he was five or six. He was a good-looking fresh-colored man, of thirty or upward and could read and write well. He spoke without bitterness, though zealously enough. 'Perhaps, sir, you are a gintleman connected with the Protestant clergy,' he asked, 'or a missionary?' On my stating that I had no claim to either character, he resumed:—'Will, sir, it don't matther. All the worruld may know my riligion, and I wish all the worruld was of my riligion, and bether min is it than I am; I do indeed. I'm a Roman Catholic, sir, [here he made the sign of the cross]; 'God be praised for it! O, yis, I know all about Cardinal Wiseman. It's the will of God, I feel sure, that he's to be 'stablished here, and it's no use ribillin' against that. I've nothing to say against Protestants. I've heard it said, 'It's best to pray for them,' The street-people that call thimselves Protestants are no religion at all at all. I serruve Protistant gintlemen and ladies too, and sometimes they talk to me kindly about religion. They're good custhomers, and I have no doubt good people. I can't say what their lot may be in another worruld for not being of the true faith. No, sir, I'll give no opinions—none.

This man gave me a clear account of his belief that the Blessed Virgin (he crossed himself repeatedly as he spoke) was the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and was a mediator with our Lord, who was God of heaven and earth—of the duty of praying to the holy saints—of attending mass—('but the priest,' he said, 'won't exact too much of a poor man, either about that or about fasting') of going to confession at Easter and Christmas times, at the least—of receiving the body of Christ, 'the rale prisince,' in the holy sacrament—of keeping all God's commandments—of purgatory being a purgation of sins—and of heaven and hell. I found the majority of those I spoke with at least as earnest in their faith, if they were not as well instructed in it as my informant, who may be cited as an example of the better class of street-sellers.

Another Irishman, who may be taken as a type of the less informed, and who had been between two and three years in England, having been disappointed in emigrating to America with his wife and two children, gave me the following account, but not without considering and hesitating. He was a very melancholy-looking man, tall and spare, and decently clad. He and his family were living on 8d a day, which he earned by sweeping a crossing. He had been prevented by ill health from earning £2, which he could have made in harvest time, as a store against winter. He had been a street-seller, and so had his wife, and she would be so again as soon as he could raise 2s. to buy her a stock of apples. He said, touching his hat at each holy name:

'Sure, yis, sir, I'm a Roman Catholic, and go to mass every Sunday. Jesus Christ? O yis' (hesitating, but proceeding readily after a word of prompting,) 'he is the Lord our Saviour, and the son of the Holy Virgin. The blessed saints? Yis, sir, yis. The prasie prays for them. I—I mane prays to them. O, yis. I pray to them mysilf ivery night for a blessin', and to rise me out of my misery. No, sir, I can't say I know what the mass is about. I don't know what I'm prayin' for thin, only that it's right. A poor man, that can neither read nor write—I wish I could and I might do bether—can't understand it; it's all in Latin. I've heard about Cardinal Wiseman. It'll do no good, sir; it'll only set people more against us. But it aint the poor min's fault.'

I visited one of the paved yards round which the Irish live, and found that it had been turned into a complete drying ground, with shirts, gowns, and petticoats of every description and color. The buildings at the end were completely hidden by 'the things,' and the air felt damp and chilly, and smelt of soap-suds. The gutter was filled with dirty gray water emptied from the washing-tubs, and on the top were thick bubbles floating about under the breath of the boys "playing at boats" with them.

It is the custom with the inhabitants of these courts and alleys to assemble at the entrance with their baskets, and chat and smoke away the morning. Every court entrance has its little group of girls and women, lolling listlessly against the sides, with their heads uncovered, and their luxuriant hair fuzzy as oakum. It is peculiar with the Irish women that—after having been accustomed to their hoods—they seldom wear bonnets, unless on a long journey. Nearly all of them, too, have a thick plaid shawl, which they keep on all day through, with their hands covered under it. At the mouth of the only thoroughfare deserving of the name of street—for a cart could just go through it—were congregated about thirty men and women, who rented rooms in the houses on each side of the road. Six women, with baskets of dried herrings, were crouching in a line on the curb-tone with the fish before them; their legs were drawn up so closely to their bodies that the shawl covered their entire figure, and they looked very like the podgy "tombolers" sold by the Italian boys. As all their wares were alike, it was puzzling work to imagine how, without the strongest opposition, they could each obtain a living. The men were dressed in long tail coats, with one or two brass buttons. One old dame, with a face wrinkled like a dried plum, had her cloak placed over her head like a hood, and grisly hair hung down in matted hanks about her face, her black eyes shining between the locks like those of a Skye terrier; beside her was another old woman smoking a pipe so short that her nose reached over the bowl.

After looking at the low foreheads and long bulging upper lips of some of the group, it was pleasant to gaze upon the pretty faces of the one or two girls that lolled against the wall. Their black hair smoothed with grease, and shining almost as it "japanned," and their large grey eyes with the thick dark fringe of lash, seemed out of place among the hard features of their companions. It was only by looking at the short petticoats and large feet you could assure yourself that they belonged to the same class.

In all the houses that I entered were traces of household care and neatness that I had little expected to see. The cupboard fastened in the corner of the room, and stocked with mugs and cups, the mantel piece with its images, and the walls covered with showy-colored prints of saints and martyrs, gave an air of comfort that strangely disagreed with the reports of the cabins in "ould Ireland." As the doors to the houses were nearly all of them kept open, I could, even while walking along, gain some notion of the furniture of the homes. In one house that I visited there was a family of five persons, living on the ground floor and occupying two rooms. The boards were strown with red sand, and the front apartment had three beds in it, with the printed curtains drawn closely around. In a dark room, at the back, lived the family itself. It was fitted up as a parlor, and crowded to excess with chairs and tables, the very staircase having pictures fastened against the wooden partition. The fire, although it was mid-day, and a warm autumn morning, served as much for light as for heat, and round it crouched the mother, children and visitors, bending over the flame as if in the severest winter time. In a room above this were a man and woman lately arrived in England. The woman sat huddled up in a corner smoking, with the husband standing over her in, what appeared at first, a menacing attitude; I was, informed, however, that they were only planning for the future. This room was perfectly empty of furniture, and the once white-washed walls were black, excepting the little square patches which showed where the pictures of the former tenants had hung. In another room I found a home so small and full of furniture, that it was almost a curiosity for domestic management. The bed with its chintz curtains looped up, filled one end of the apartment, but the matress of it served as a long bench for the visitors to sit on. The table was so large that it divided the room in two, and if there was one picture there must have been thirty—all of "holy men," with yellow glories round their heads. The window-ledge was dressed out with crockery, and in a tumbler were placed the beads. The old dame herself was as curious as her room. Her shawl was fastened over her large frilled cap. She had a little "button" of a nose, with the nostrils entering her face like bullet holes. She wore over her gown an old pilot coat, well stained with fish slime, and her petticoats being short, she had very much the appearance of a Dutch fisherman or stage smuggler.

Her story was effecting—made more so, perhaps, by the emotional manner in which she related it.—Nine years ago "the father" of the district—"the Blissid Lady guard him!"—had found her late at night, rolling in the gutter, and the boys pelting her with orange-peel and mud. She was drunk—"the Lorrud pass by her"—and when she came to, she found herself in the chapel, lying before the sanctuary, "under the shadow of the holy cross." Watching over her was the "good father," trying to bring back her consciousness. He spoke to her of her wickedness, and before she left she took the pledge of temperance. From that time she prospered, and the 1s. 6d. the "father gave her, "had God's blissin' in it," for she became the best dressed woman in the court, and in less than three years had £15 in the savings' band, "the father—Heaven cherish him"—keeping her book for her, as he did for other poor people. She also joined "the Association of the Blissed Lady" (and bought herself the dress of the order, "a beautiful grane vilvit, which she had now, and which cost her 30s.") And then she was secure against want in old age and sickness. But after nine years' prudence and comfort, a brother of hers returned home from the army, with a pension of 1s. a day. He was wild, and persuaded her to break her pledge, and in a short time he got all her savings from her and spent every penny. She couldn't shake him off, "for he was the only kin she had on airth," and "she must love her own flish and bones." Then began her misery. "It plased God to visit her ould limbs with aches and troubles, and her hips swole with the cowld," so that she was at last forced into a hospital, and all that was left of her store was "aten up by sufferin's." This she assured me all came about by the "good father's" leaving that parish for another one, but now he had returned to them again and with his help and God's blessing, she would yet prosper once more.

While I was in the room the father entered, and "old Norah," half divided between joy at seeing him, and shame at being again a beggar," laughed and wept at the same time. She stood wiping her eyes with the shawl, and groaning out blessings on "his rivirince's hid," begging of him not to scould her lor she was a wake woman." The renegade brother was led in to receive a lecture from "his riverance." A more